

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement*
of the Palestine Exploration Fund
and the *Bulletin* of the British
School of Archæology in Jerusalem

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THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN

By

C. LEONARD WOOLLEY & T. E. LAWRENCE

With a chapter on the Greek Inscriptions by
M. N. TOD

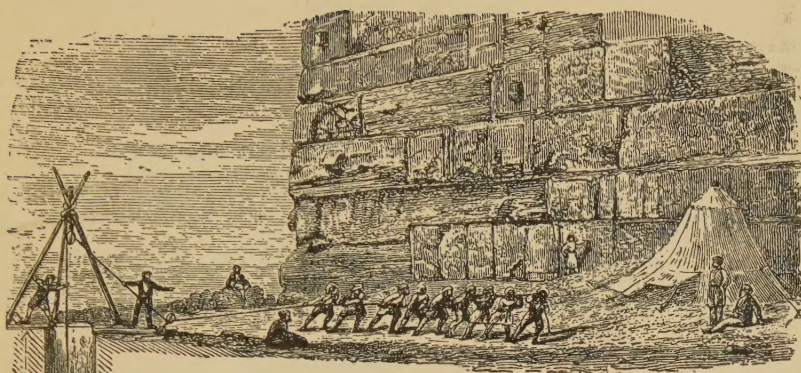
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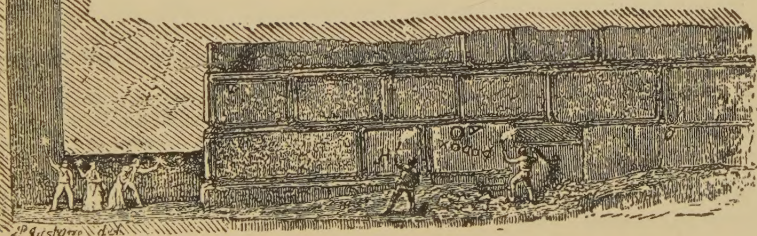
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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

ON behalf of the Committee, the Editor wishes to thank the many subscribers, at home and abroad, who have written appreciatively of the new form of the old QUARTERLY STATEMENT. There seems to be a unanimous approval of the change. Possibly, one or two who expressed regret at the disappearance of the familiar Warren's shaft from the cover may have overlooked its presence on the first inside page, where it will remain as a witness that the PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY carries on the traditions of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT. May we express the hope that those who have valued the QUARTERLY STATEMENT in the past, and who approve of its new form, will endeavour to secure as many new subscribers for the journal as they can. The Editor will also welcome any suggestions for the improvement of the journal, and especially any notes on matters of interest to students of Palestinian affairs and of the Old Testament.

The Neilson Expedition of Liverpool University reports from Tarsus the discovery near the foothills of the Western Plain, not far from the sea, of a very old prehistoric culture, apparently local, underlying levels which correspond with the earliest cultures of El Obeid, near Ur, and of Arpachiyeh, near Nineveh. The stratum is about nine feet deep, and twenty-five feet below the obviously Hittite levels. It is distinguished by peculiar painted and plain pottery fragments and the use of obsidian and flint.

Under the auspices of the British Museum and the British School of Archæology in Iraq, Mr. Mallowan has been carrying on pioneer work in the Habur region, where he has begun the

excavation of Chagar Bazar, a site lying a little to the S.E. of Nisibis. The city stood at the meeting-point of the Babylonian and the Hittite Empires, and lay open to Anatolian influences. Its excavation is important as illustrating the character of the Mitannite civilization. Cuneiform tablets were found which, when deciphered, may give information about the Habur region at a time when it was first coming into contact with the Assyrians and the Babylonians.

In November of last year Professor Herzfeld published the text of the new inscription of Xerxes which was discovered in Persepolis in the summer of 1935. It is a document of considerable historical importance, throwing fresh light upon the changed policy of Xerxes with regard to the religions of the constituent parts of his empire. Dr. Hans Hartmann comments on the text as follows: "We have here a document of extraordinary historical importance. The predecessors of Darius had hitherto received the kingship of Babylon from the hands of Marduk, an act which was symbolically expressed by the ceremony of taking the hand of the god. Under Xerxes all this was changed. The continual revolts in Babylon and Egypt had shown that the policy of religious toleration was ineffective, and that a lasting peace in the empire was not to be reached along these lines. Hence for the first time in 484 B.C. did the Great King abandon the performance of this ceremony. Instead of taking the hand of Marduk, he performed a religious ceremony in honour of his own god, the god of the Aryans, who had made him supreme over the world. Henceforth he disregarded the religious convictions of foreign peoples. In Egypt he confiscated temple property, a proceeding which would have been unthinkable for Darius, and so Aeschylus (*Persae*, 407ff.) could charge Xerxes with having deliberately destroyed the holy places of the Greeks, an action which would be the cause of his ruin."

Those who are interested in the progress of Palestinian archæology will be glad to know that the Institute of Archæology, under the direction of Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, with Miss Kathleen Kenyon as secretary, is now settled in its new

quarters in the Inner Circle, Regent's Park, and will hold its formal opening on 29th April of this year. The Flinders Petrie Palestinian Collection is now housed and arranged at the Institute, and is available for the use of students, although the process of cataloguing is not yet complete. Next year the Institute hopes to arrange Diploma and Degree courses in Palestinian Archæology for students of the University of London. In the highly important work of giving an adequate technical and scientific training to field-workers, and providing a body of young and keen volunteers for Palestinian excavation, the Institute should receive the practical support of all who are interested in the progress of research and excavation in the Holy Land.

The most striking feature of this season's work at Tell Duweir has been the discovery of a great shaft, the largest of the kind which has yet been found in the excavation of any Palestinian site. It is suggested that the shaft may lead to the underground water-supply of Lachish. A tomb has also been discovered which is dated to the period of the Judges, with a large number of incense-burners lying outside its entrance.

Major C. S. Jarvis, of Sinai fame, delivered a very interesting lecture to a large audience at the Rooms of the Fund, 2 Hinde Street, on 25th February. The report of the lecture, revised by the author, appears in this issue, and readers will be glad to hear that Major Jarvis will lecture in the early autumn, at the Rooms of the Fund, on the subject of the desert wanderings of the Israelites, a subject on which he has formed some very interesting theories.

Letters announcing the new Archæological Survey of Palestine of which our readers have already heard have been sent to several of the institutions at work in the country whose goodwill and assistance is essential to the success of the project. Most encouraging replies have been received from the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem, from the Pontifical Institute and from the two schools which are so intimately connected

with the British School, namely the Dominicans and the American School of Oriental Research. The Secretary of State for the Colonies also has given us renewed assurance of his benevolent interest in the undertaking.

The following letter, which appeared in *The Times* of 19th March of this year, will be of interest to readers of the PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY :

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

SIR,—The interesting article by Professor Bentwich on "Spoiling the Holy City" in *The Times* of 8th February is open to misinterpretation owing to insufficient distinction between the condition and needs of the Ancient City of Jerusalem and those of the adjacent Modern City. I crave space to examine these matters.

As author of Lord Allenby's town planning scheme for the protection of the city, and having kept in touch with development throughout the years, one is pleased to record that the general principles of that scheme have been followed. These principles are, briefly, that the medieval aspect of the Old City within the walls should be preserved ; that a belt of land surrounding the walls should be reserved, so far as possible, as an open space ; and that within a large outer belt any new buildings should be in harmony and in scale with the Old City. In this way the aspect of and prospect from the Old City was protected. Beyond this outer belt the Modern City was free to develop under the usual town planning control.

An inspection on the ground to-day shows that the objects of the scheme have, in general, been attained, and that the spoiling of the Old City by the erection of unsuitable buildings and the demolition of interesting old ones, which was in progress before the War, has been stopped by the measures adopted.

It is the recent unsatisfactory architecture in the Modern City, beyond the outer protective belt, which Professor Bentwich doubtless refers to in his article. It is difficult to provide a remedy by regulation, but improvement may often be made by persuasion and special arrangement.

The point to be noted is that since 1918 the measures adopted by the authorities have effectively protected the

Ancient City and its environs. There is fear, however, for the future of the protecting zones owing to the rapid expansion now taking place, and a trust with funds available, as Professor Bentwich suggests, would be a valuable aid in maintaining protection.

I am, &c.,
W. H. McLEAN.

American Colony Hostel, Jerusalem.

By the death of Genevieve Lady Watson, at the age of eighty-two, the Fund has lost one of its oldest and most loyal supporters. Since the death of her husband, Sir Charles Watson, in 1916, Lady Watson had lived in Jerusalem where she devoted herself to work for the Ophthalmic Hospital of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and had for twelve years been Hon. Secretary of the P.E.F. in Palestine, fulfilling that office with typical zeal and devotion.

Sir Charles Watson was chairman of the Fund from 1906 until his death. The most dramatic event in the life of Watson Pasha was his capture of the Citadel of Cairo, after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. An excellent description of this feat is given in *Blackwood's Magazine* for March, 1911. Captain C. M. Watson, who was then serving in the Intelligence Department, and had a good knowledge of Arabic, pointed out to the higher authorities the necessity of seizing Cairo and the Citadel immediately in order to avoid the probability of riots and destruction in that capital. After the surrender of Abbasia, Colonel Stewart placed at Watson's disposal a little force of five officers and eighty-four N.C.O.s and men of the 4th Dragoon Guards. Then came the night ride across a few miles of desert and waste ground in the outskirts of Cairo, the passage through the Bab-el-Wezir; the arrival at the main gate of the Citadel; Watson's summons to the commandant, and his orders that the whole garrison must evacuate the Citadel and march to the Kasr-en-Nil barracks. This was agreed to; the keys "in a beautiful bag" were handed over, and 6,000 men gave up their arms and marched out. This feat of Watson's was never adequately recognized by Sir Garnet Wolseley, whose treatment of Watson was not greatly to his credit.

THE BASILICA AT BETHLEHEM

Reproduced from the original negative taken by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, and published in his *Photographs of Biblical Sites*, 1876, with the following description :

BETHLEHEM

“ This view is of the interior of the magnificent Basilica built by St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, over the first scene of our Lord's life—the Grotto of the Nativity (St. Luke, ii, 7). As early as the second century this site was known and venerated. It is easy to believe that the stable of the inn was a cave, an occurrence by no means rare at the present day in Palestine.

“ The grotto is directly under the principal altar of the church, and in it a silver star let into a marble slab marks the place of the birth of our Lord, and bears the simple inscription ‘ Hic de Virgine Maria, Jesus Christus natus est.’ In a grotto close by St. Jerome lived a great part of his life and produced many of his laborious works, which earned for him the title of ‘ Father of the Church.’ Where he loved to live there he lies in peace.

“ The altar of the Holy Innocents and the tombs of Santa Paula and Santa Eustachia are also shown close by.

“ The church is believed to be the oldest existing Christian monument in the world. It was built in A.D. 327.

“ Four rows of fine Corinthian columns of marble divide the church into a nave and four aisles. A wall built by the Greeks now cuts off the chancel and destroys the effect of this otherwise magnificent building.

The roof is made of English oak, sent over by King Edward IV. On many of the pillars there are crests of Crusaders painted. The mosaics were of the eleventh century, and are now almost defaced by time and bad treatment, but once must have been very fine.”



THE BASILICA AT BETHLEHEM
(for description see opposite page)

NOTE.—An interesting article by Rev. P. N. Waggett, M.A., on the church at Bethlehem, which appeared in QUARTERLY STATEMENT, April, 1919, alludes to the removal of the wall above referred to, and is illustrated with comparative pictures.

Readers are referred also to Mr. William Harvey's recent work on the church, to his paper in QUARTERLY STATEMENT, January, 1936, and to his official Report *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, 1935.

THE HITTITES IN PALESTINE, II

BY E. O. FORRER

How long did these Hittites keep the tradition of their Hittite name?

From the fact that at the time of Saul, Ahimelech (1. Sam. 26 : 6), and at the time of David, Uriah (2. Sam. 11 : 3.6.17. 21.24. 12:9.10. 23:19.—1. Reg. 15:5.—1. Chr. 11:41), are called the "Hittite," and no others in later times, we may infer that they belonged to the Hittite population of Palestine. But it is not impossible that both were fugitives from the Hittites III of northern Syria; that Uriah was one of the servants of David would hardly be a serious objection against his being a foreigner. If we assume that the Hittite name of the population of the hill country of Judah disappeared among them after their conquest by the Israelites, then their name would have survived in the *Israelite* tradition only as the name of one of the seven aboriginal races, whereas it survived in the *Philistine* tradition until the Assyrian King Sargon. If we assume that Ahimelech and Uriah were Hittites from Palestine—and not from northern Syria—their Hittite designation would have disappeared among the Israelites in the time of David and Solomon, which is very likely. For this period of the presumptive domination of Israel over Syria means for the seven former populations and the Israelite newcomers their unification into a *nation* under the leadership of the latter. After this period the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites, Girgashites and even the incoming Israelites are no more than historical reminiscences. Therefore it is quite certain that the Hittite wives of Solomon were foreigners, as they are actually called, and not from Palestine. As far as Ahimelech and Uriah are concerned, I prefer to leave open the question whether they belong to the Hittites III (of Syria) or IV (of Palestine).

But as we have seen above (*Q.S.*, Oct., 1936, p. 201), the

tradition of the Hittite name survived or was renewed in that part of the hill-country of Judah, which belonged to the Philistine kingdom of Ashdod as late as the year 711, in the time of the Assyrian King Sargon III, we may here assume a Philistine tradition.

Having shewn the existence of Palestinian Hittites at the time of the immigration of the Israelites and discussed the possibility of their latest existence as a nation in the reign of David, and of their survival, mentioned in 711 B.C. by the Assyrians, the question arises of their earlier history: and in the first place, whether there are traces of them in the Amarna-letters, which date from about 1385 to 1350 B.C.

To draw inferences as to Palestinian Hittites from Aryan or other non-Semitic proper names in the Amarna-letters is inadmissible so long as we do not know what was the nationality of these Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites and Girgashites. Hence arguments from proper names must be dealt with later.

Among the forty-four mentions of the Hatti in the Amarna-letters there is not one which could refer to anything but the Hittite II empire of Asia Minor. There is thus no mention of the Palestinian Hittites under the name Hittite.

It was supposed that the so-called second Arzawa-letter¹ in the Kanisian (i.e., Hittite II) language may have been written by a south-Palestinian Hittite IV because of his name Labbaja, whom we know to have been a petty ruler in southern Palestine.² But this name is always written *la-ab-a-ia* or *la-ba-a-ia*, never *lab-ba-ia* as in this second Arzawa-letter. Further there is no other passage in any *Kanisian* text where the sign KAL has the reading *lab*,³ so that I prefer to read Kalbaia instead of Labbaja. In this case there is no connection with the south-Palestinian Labaia. Now if we read Kalbaia, a Bible student might connect this man with Caleb who settled among the Hittites of Hebron. But careful examination of the original of this tablet in the Berlin Museum, where its number

¹ Transcribed by J. A. Knudtzon "*Die El-Amarna Tafeln*" Leipzig 1915. Nr. 32.—Republished by O. Schroeder in *Vorderasiatische Schrift-denkmäler des Berliner Museums* XII. Nr. 202.

² About Labaja see J. A. Knudtzon l.c.p.1312.

³ Also for the Amarna-letters O. Schroeder in his comparative sign-list in VAS. XII Leipzig 1915.p.86 Nr. 127 gives no value *lab* for KAL.

is VAT. 342, showed me that Fr. Hrozný is right in explaining this tablet as one sent by the King Tarhundaradu of Arzawa to the Pharaoh.¹

There is thus neither any mention of nor any letter from south-Palestinian Hittites among the Amarna-letters. Hence this *testimonium ex silentio* concerning Hittites in southern Palestine makes it possible to assume that at the time of the Amarna-letters there were no Hittites in southern Palestine, i.e., up to the last years of Amenophis IV, who died in 1352 B.C. Thus the Hittites of Palestine cannot be an aboriginal population, but must be immigrants who came to Palestine after the Tell el-Amarna period.

It must be repeated that the frontier of the Hittite (II) empire stopped short at the northern end of the Lebanon and never came south of it. After the conquest of Syria by Soppiluliuma when he raided Aba (Damascus), Hittite armies crossed this frontier on five subsequent occasions: in 1353 B.C. Soppiluliuma sent an army for the first time to the Egyptian border-country, the land of Amka, i.e., the Biq'a plain, and a second time in the next year, 1352 B.C., a third expedition to Amka took place under the guidance of the generals Lupakki and Tessobzalma. In the same year Amenophis IV died, and his widow Nefret-ete wished to marry a son of Soppiluliuma. The son, who was sent by Soppiluliuma, was murdered on the way. Thereupon in 1351 B.C. Soppiluliuma declared war on Egypt, invaded Mizri, i.e., Egyptian territory in Syria, and carried away many prisoners, among whom a pestilence arose, which devastated the Hittite empire for at least the next twenty years.²

It is not said in the Boghazköi-Texts *what* Egyptian territory Soppiluliuma invaded. He will have come farther than Amka, i.e., the Biq'a plain, and probably ravaged the land of Aba, the biblical Hobah, in the environs of Damascus. That he reached northern Palestine is improbable; it is difficult to believe that he could have reached the hill-country of Judah. And even if he reached it, there is no reason why he should have left there the Hittites of Palestine, since he did not

¹ *Archiv Orientalny* III. 192. *Journal Asiatique* 218.1931. p. 307-20.

² All these events are dealt with in my "*Forschungen*" II.1 (1926) pp. 1-37; see especially p. 32.

keep in possession the occupied territory longer than for a raid. Yet his allies, the Habiri, conquered Palestine except the middle part and the coast.¹ But they are never called Hittites.

The fourth crossing of the Lebanon-frontier by a Hittite army happened in the seventh year of Morsili (1338 B.C.), when he sent his general Gantuzzili across the frontier on an unimportant raid, which can hardly have reached Palestine.²

For the fifth time Egyptian territory was invaded by the Hittites after the Hittite king Movattalli had defeated Ramses II in the battle of Kadeš (=Kinza of the Boghazköi-Texts) in the year 1308 B.C. A text from Boghazköi reads: "When he had vanquished the king of Mizri and Ḫorri,³ he went after [him] to the country of Aba. When my brother Movattalli had vanquished the country of Aba, [he we]nt [back] to the Hittite land, but he [left] myself (i.e., Hattusili III) in the midst of the country of Aba (i.e., Damascus)."⁴

This was the last Hittite invasion of Egyptian territory. Hattusili ended these wars by his "treaty of peace for ever" with Ramses II in 1292 B.C., which lasted until the great invasion of the Sea-people who destroyed the Hittite empire and shook the Egyptian domination in Syria and Palestine, which, however, lasted at least until the middle of the twelfth century B.C., as was known but recently by a statue of Ramses VI found at Megiddo.⁵ Among those sea-peoples the Tabalians became the Hittites III.

Hence we see that there are no grounds for assuming Hittite (II) domination in Palestine, or "Hittite strongholds" in Palestine, as some scholars have done. On the other hand there is no doubt about the existence of Palestinian Hittites in

¹ A discussion of the territorial changes of the Amarna-time cannot be given here, although only a collation of the Amarna-letters with the material from the Boghazköi-texts can give a right understanding of this fascinating period.

² See E. Forrer "Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift" II, 2 (Leipzig, 1932), No. 54 §69.

³ I take Ḫorri to be a mistake of the scribe for Amurri.

⁴ Bo.2518+2454+4060. I.17-21. The two first fragments only are published by A. Goetze in "Keilschrift-Urkunden aus Boghazköi" XXI. No. 17. Not yet transcribed or translated.

⁵ R. M. Engberg in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 51, p. 261, according to P. Thomsen in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* XI, 1936, p. 94.

the hill-country of Judah ; yet they cannot owe their existence to the political strength of the Hittite empire in Syria.

The solution of this riddle, already given by me in 1926,¹ is found in a prayer of Morsilis in the year 1331 B.C.,² after the Egyptian pestilence had afflicted the Hittite empire for twenty years.³ The reason for this pestilence was held to be a sin of the Hittite king or state. Therefore he had looked over the archives of Boghazköi and had found on cuneiform tablets, among various sins, two, which might be the special reason for the pestilence. The first was the tablet of the incantation of the river Mala, which had not been celebrated since the time of Soppiluliuma, the second "the tablet of the city Kurustamma." The sin which concerns our problem and the Hittites of Palestine is that which occurs in the tablet of Kurustamma.

Since it will be an advantage to have that part of Morsili's prayer before our eyes, I give § 4-8 of this text based on Bo. 2803 Obv. 13-38 (=KUB.XIV.8), completed by Bo.2067.II. 1-31. (=KUB.XIV.10) and Bo.2029+3713. II. 1-51 (=KUB XIV.11) :

§ 4. ša'-n[u]-ú'dub'-[b]u-ma¹
ša(Uru-)ku-ru-uš-ta-am-ma Lù
(-Meš).(Uru-)ku-ru-uš-ta-am-
ma ma-ah-ha-an (An-)U².
(Uru-)ha-ad-ti i-na Kur.(Uru-)
mi-iz-ri bi-e-da-aš nu-uš-ma-
aš(An-)Im³.(Uru-)ha-ad-ti ma-
ah-ha-an iš-hi-ú-ul a-na Lù
(-Meš).(Uru-)ha-ad-ti me-na-
ah-ha-an-da i-ia-ad nam-ma-ad
iš-tu (An-)U.(Uru-)ha-ad-ti li-
[in]-ga-nu-va-an-te-eš nu Lù
(-Meš).(Uru-)ha-ad-ti ku-id
Lù(-Meš).(Uru-)mi-iz-ri-ia iš-
tu (An-)Im.(Uru-)ha-ad-ti li-
in-ga-nu-va-an-te-eš e-še-ir nu
ú-e-ir Lù(-Meš).(Uru-)ha-ad-
ti bi-ra-an va-ah-nu-e-ir⁴

§ 4. The second tablet concerning (the city) Kurustamma (tells), how the Storm-God of Hatti the people of Kurustamma delivered into the land of Mizri. Then when the Storm-God of Hatti made a treaty between them and the people of Hatti, they moreover were sworn in by the Storm-God of Hatti, whereas the people of Hatti and the people of Mizri were sworn in by the Storm-God of Hatti, it came that the people of Hatti went astray.

¹ In my "Forschungen" II, 1. p. 13, 21-2.

² l.c.p.19.

³ The high historical importance of these prayers against the pestilence

§ 5. nu-gan ni-iš An-lim Lù
 (-Meš).(Uru-)ha-ad-ti hu-u-
 da-a-ag šar-ri-i-e-ir nu a-bu-
 ia Zab(-Meš).Anšu-Kur-Ra
 (-Meš) u-i-ia-ad nu Zag.Kur.
 (Uru⁵-)mi-iz-ri Kur.(Uru)a⁶-
 am-ga va-al-ah-hi-ir ⁷nam-ma-
 ia u-i-ia-ad nu nam-ma va-al-
 ah-hi-ir ⁷ Lù(-Meš).(Uru-)mi-
 iz-ri-i⁸-ma ma-ah-ha-an na-ah-
 ša-ri-ia-an-ta-ad⁹ na-ad ú-e-ir
 nu a-na a-bi-ia Tur-šu¹⁰ [Lu-
 gal]-u-iz-na-an-ni an-ku ú-e-
 ki-ir nu-uš-ma-aš ma-ah-ha-an
 a-bu-ia a-bi-e-el Tur-šu bi-eš-
 ta na-an ma-ah-ha-an bi-e-hu-
 te-ir na-an-gan ku-e¹¹-en-ni-ir
 a-bu-ia-ma , ¹²kab-bi-la-az-
 za-ad-ta na-aši-na Kur.(Uru¹³-)
 mi-iz-ri pa-id nu Kur.(Uru-)
 mi-iz-ri va-al-ah-ta Zab(-Meš)-
 ia-gan Anšu-Kur-Ra(-Meš) ša
 Kur.(Uru¹³-)mi-iz-ri ku-en-ta

§ 5. Then the people of Hatti
 forthwith broke the oath. My
 father sent troops with horses.
 They destroyed the land of
 Amga, the border-country of
 the land of Mizri. And again he
 sent (troops). They destroyed
 again. But when the people of
 Mizri became afraid, they came,
 they asked repeatedly from my
 father a son of his for kingship.
 When my father gave them a
 son of his, when they led him
 away, they slew him then. But
 my father grew angry. He went
 into the land of Mizri, he des-
 troyed the land of Mizri. Then
 he slew also the troops and
 horses of the land of Mizri.

was recognized first in my compilation of them from ten fragments, with their text in transcription and translation in my "*Forschungen*" II, 1 (1926) p. 1-37. A second translation was made by A. Goetze, "*Die Pestgebete des Morsili*" in "*Kleinasiatische Forschungen*" I, 161-251.

¹ Bo.2803.Vs.13. Only the *two* last oblique wedges of *bu* are visible, not only one as given by Goetze. In Bo.2067.II.1 the first sign seems to be the lower half of *ša* being much more pressed together than Goetze gives it. The second sign begins with an oblique wedge missing in Goetze's edition. The third sign is the lower part of *ú* including the lower horizontal wedge, omitted by Goetze, whereas there is no oblique wedge suggesting *ri*, given by Goetze. Nevertheless the right reading *ša-nu-ú* is due to him (l.c.p.208). The fourth sign looks like the lower part of *la* or *ad*, but is to be read *dub*, as I have pointed out already *Forschungen* II, 1, p. 13.

² From Bo.2067.II.3.

³ So Bo.2803.Vs.14.-Bo.2067.II.4:U.

⁴ Only Bo.3713 begins here a new paragraph. Bo.2803 and Bo.2067 have no line of separation.

⁵ Bo.2803.Obv.19 omits *Uru*.

⁶ Bo.2803.Obv.19 omits *a*.

§ 6. nu a-bi-ia-ia (An-)Im.
 (Uru-)ha-ad-ti ¹⁴be-lí-ia¹⁴ ^{15a}
 -ba-ia¹⁵ ha-an-¹⁶ ne-eš¹⁶. ni-
 id šar-la-a-id nu-za Zab(-Meš)
 Anšu-Kur-Ra(-Meš) ša Kur.
 (Uru-)mi-iz-ri tar-ah-ta na-ad-
 gan ku-en-ta nu Lù(-Meš).ab-
 pa-a[n-za] ku-in e-ib-pir na-an
 ma-ah-ha-an i-na Kur-(Uru-)
 ha-ad-ti Egir-pa ú-va-te-e¹⁷.
 ir nu-gan i-na Šag-bi¹⁸ Lù
 (-Meš) ¹⁹Šu- Dib-Bi(-Hia)¹⁹
 hi-in-gan ki-ša-ad na-aš ²⁰ag-
 ki-iš-ki-u-an da-[a-iš]²⁰

§ 6. Also thereby justified my lord, the Storm-God of Ḫatti, my father by judgement: indeed he conquered the horse-troops of the land of Mizri and slew them. When they led back the prisoners, whom they caught, to the land of Ḫatti, then in the midst of the prisoners pestilence took place. They began to die more and more.

§ 7. ma-ah-ha-an-ma Lù(-Meš).
²¹Šu-Dib-Bi(-Hia)²¹ i-na Šag-
 bi²² Kur.(Uru-)²³ha-ad ²³-
 ti ar-nu-e²⁴.ir nu-gan hi-in-
²⁵ga-an²⁵ i-na ²⁶Šag-bi²⁶
 Kur.(Uru-)ha-ad-ti Lù(-Meš).
 za-ab-tum-tum ²⁷ ²⁸ú-te-e-ir²⁸
 nu-gan i-na Šag.Kur²⁹.
 (Uru³⁰-)ha-ad ³¹-ti a-bi-e-iz-
 za Ud-Kam-az ag-ki-iš-ki-id-
 ta-ri nu-za ma-ah-ha-an e-ni
 Dub-pa ša Kur.(Uru-)mi-iz-ri
 bi-ra-an ³²ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un³²
 na-ad iš-tu An-lim a-ri-ia-nu-
 un a-ši-va ku-iš me-mi-ia³³.aš
 iš-tu (An-)Im³⁴.(Uru-)ha-ad-
 ti i-ia-an-za Lù(-Meš).(Uru-)
 mi-iz-ri ku-id Lù(-Meš).(Uru-)
 ha-ad-ti-ia³⁵ iš-tu (An-)Im³⁶.
 (Uru-)ha-ad-ti ³⁷li-in-ga-nu-
 an-te-eš³⁷

§ 7. But when they transported the prisoners into the land of Ḫatti, then the prisoners brought (also) the pestilence into the land of Ḫatti. Then in the midst of the land of Ḫatti since that day they die more and more. Indeed when I lit upon that tablet concerning the land of Mizri, I inquired by lot from the deity (saying): "Concerning the former word, which is done by the Storm-God of Ḫatti, (and) the fact that the people of Mizri and the people of Ḫatti (were) sworn in by the Storm-God of Ḫatti,

⁷⁻⁷ These two phrases are omitted by Bo.2067, but preserved in both other texts.

⁸ Bo.2067.II.15 and Bo.2029.II.9 omit -i-.

§ 8. (An-)dam-na-aš-ša-ru-uš-gan ku-id i-na Šag-bi bit.(An-)Im³⁸.(Uru-)ha-ad-ti be-lí-ia me-mi-ia-an-ma-gan Lù-(Meš). (Uru-)ha-ad-ti-bad³⁹ hu-u-da-a-ag šar-ri-i⁴⁰-e-ir⁴¹ nu-va-ra-aš⁴¹ ma-a-an a-na (An-)Im⁴². (Uru-)ha-ad⁴³-ti be-lí⁴⁴-ia kar-tim-mi-ia-az⁴⁵ ki-ša-ad na-ad ha-an-da⁴⁶ a-id-ta-ad

§ 8. (and) the fact that then the Damnassara-Gods (were) in the midst of the house of my lord, the Storm-god of Hatti,—but even the people of Hatti broke the word forthwith—if upon my lord, the Storm-God of Hatti wrath has fallen,” that was answered in the affirmative.

⁹ Bo.2029.II.11 inserted here a short phrase of 6 or 7 signs, beginning with *n*[*a* and ending with *-i*]r, which will have been a dittography of the following phrase.

¹⁰ Bo.2029.II.14: -šú.—Bo.2803.Obv.21: -šú.

¹¹ So Bo.2803.Obv.23.—Bo.2029.II.16 and Bo.2067.II.19 omit *-e*.

¹² So Bo.2803.Obv.23. In Bo.2067.II.20 this wedge determining words of foreign origin was added subsequently. In Bo.2029.II.17 it is omitted.

¹³ Bo.2803.Obv.23 omits *Uru*.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ The whole word is omitted by Bo.2029.II.21.

¹⁵⁻¹⁵ Bo.2029.II.22 has *ad-ta-aš-mi-in* instead of *a-ba-ia*; it should be *attanmin*.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ Bo.2029.II.22. has *-ni-iš*.

¹⁷ Bo.2067.II.28 omits *-e*.

¹⁸ Bo.2029.II.28 omits *-bi*.

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ Thus Bo.2803.Obv.28.—Bo.2029.II.28: *za-ab-du-ti*.

²⁰⁻²⁰ Thus Bo.2803.Obv.28.—Bo.2029.II.30: *ag-ki-iš-ki-id*.

²¹⁻²¹ Thus Bo.2803.Obv.32.—Bo.2029.II.31: *za-ab-tum-ti*.

²² Thus Bo.2803.Obv.29 and Bo.2067.II.31.—Bo.2029.II.32 omits *-bi*.

²³⁻²³ Thus Bo.2803.Obv.30.—Bo.2029.II.32: *had*.

²⁴ Thus Bo.2803.Obv.29.—Bo.2029.II.32 omits *-e*.

²⁵⁻²⁵ Thus Bo.2803.Obv.29.—Bo.2029.II.33: *-gan-n[a]*; but *-na* has been obliterated subsequently in part.

²⁶⁻²⁶ Thus Bo.2803.Obv.30.—Bo.2029.II.33 omits *Šag-bi*.

²⁷ Bo.2029.II.34 omits one *-tum*.

²⁸⁻²⁸ Bo.2029.II.34: *ú-e-te-ir*, certainly erroneous.

²⁹ Bo.2029.II.34 omits *Kur*.

³⁰ Bo.2803.Obv.30 omits *Uru*.

³¹ Bo.2029.II.34 has *had* instead of *ha-ad*.

³²⁻³² Bo.2029.II.37: *ag-šú-ud*.

³³ Bo.2029.II.38 omits *-ia*.

³⁴ Bo.2029.II.39: *U*.

³⁵ Bo.2029.II.40 omits *-ia*.

³⁶ Bo.2029.II.41: *U*.

³⁷⁻³⁷ Bo.2029.II.41: *li-in-ga-nu-va-an*. Separation line only in Bo.2803.

³⁸ Bo.2029.II.42 has *An-lim* instead of *(An-)Im* and omits *(Uru-)ha-ad-ti be-lí-ia*.

§ 9. Zúr-ia ša (I[d-]ma-)a-la hi-
in-ga-ni še-e-ir⁴⁷ a-ri-ia-nu-un
&c.

§ 9. Also concerning the ritual
of the Māla-river I inquired by
lot with regard to the pestilence
&c.

The main fact, which we learn from this prayer, is that the people of Hatti had concluded a treaty with the people of Egypt about the people of (the city) Kurustamma, shortly before Soppiluliuma had sent a son of his to Egypt, and, after the death of his son, had invaded Egyptian territory twice. The city of Kurustamma is well known from the Boghazköi-Texts as lying in the territory of the Gasga-people, i.e., in the western part of the Roman province of Pontus. Hattosili III in his great speech Bo.2029.II.8 (parallel Bo. 2032.II.2, not preserved in KBo.III.6.I.72)¹ tells us that the cities of Kurustamma and Gazziura became hostile, and attacked the Hittite (II) settlements. Gazziura is the Roman Gaziura, now Turkhal, hence well known, and Kurustamma can only have been some ten or twenty miles from Gaziura. Farther on (ibid.II.55) he tells us, that his brother Movattalli did not take the field against Durmitta and Kurustamma. Durmitta was another province and city of the Gasga-people.

Concerning the Damnassara-gods, "who are in the midst of the house of the Storm-god of Hatti," there are three possible reasons for their special connection with this tablet of Kurustamma. Either they were the main gods of the people of Kurustamma and hence mentioned in a prominent place of the treaty concerning them. Or they were by their special nature in some other way responsible in the case of these fugitives, the reason of whose flight we don't know. Or they were the representatives of the Egyptian part of the treaty concerning the Kurustamma-people.

³⁹ Bo.2029.II.43 omits *-bad*.

⁴⁰ Bo.2029.II.44 omits *-i-*.

⁴¹⁻⁴¹ There is no room in Bo.2029.II.45 to restore this word.

⁴² Bo.2029.II.45: *U*.

⁴³ Bo.2029.II.45: *had-* instead of *ha-ad-*.

⁴⁴ Bo.2029.II.45: *En-* instead of *be-lt-*.

⁴⁵ Bo.2029.II.45: *-za* instead of *-az*.

⁴⁶ Bo.2029.II.46. *-ta-* instead of *-da-a-*.

⁴⁷ Bo.2029.II.47 omits this word.

¹ A. Goetze, *Hattusilis*, p. 14-15. (MVAG. 1924.)

The termination *-sara* in the Kanisian (Hittite II) language being used to form females from male substantives of actors we shall expect the Damnassar-gods to be *goddesses*. Twice¹ they are mentioned in connection with the god Suvalijatta and the Horrian deities the bulls Sēri and Horri. Since also Suvalijatta is a fellow of the Horrian king of the gods, the Storm-god of the city Kummija,² and likely his marshal or messenger,³ we must conclude, that the Damnassara-goddesses belonged to the pantheon of the Horrians in Upper Mesopotamia and North Syria; hence they were not the gods of the city Kurustamma.

In the legend of Kissi this hero dreams: he encounters a lion, he flees towards the courtyard, but in front of the yard he found the *ellija[nku]*⁴ and the *damnassara* (Plur.).⁵ Here the dream ends. It is clear that Kissi was so to say between Scylla and Charybdis, and that the *ellijanku* and the *damnassara*'s were frightful beings. There is thus no doubt, that *ellijanku* is the well-known Illujanka-dragon, and that the Damnassara-goddesses are—at least originally—also some kind of frightful beast, possibly serpents. That explains why they are written *without* the determinative of gods twice.⁶

At a feast the Damnassara-goddesses are being turned about always so that their eyes may follow the king, wherever he goes.⁷ Hence their look is of special importance, which again points to serpents. The Damnassara-goddesses are especially celebrated on a pilgrimage of the king in which he is visiting a line of important cities and temples of the inner Hatti-land; he reaches the capital Hattusa=Boghazköi at the ninth day and celebrates the Damnassara-goddesses at the twelfth day in the temple of the Storm-god.⁸

¹ Bo. 30.I.1 (=KBo.II.30).—Bo. 5041.IV.10 (=KUB.X.11).

² See E. Forrer, *Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche* in *Mélanges Fr. Cumont*, Brussels, 1937, p. 687-713 or "Göttergeschichte als Weltgeschichte im alten Orient" at the *Forschungen und Fortschritten*, 1st Nov., 1935, p. 398, and "Götterkönighümer als Vorgeschichtsperioden Babylonien" in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 10th July, 1936, p. 255.

³ Bo. 2800.I.24.26 (unpublished).

⁴ *ellijankus* occurs also in the unpublished legend of Ishtar Bo. 2024.III. 65.

⁵ Bo. 5456.II.13 (=KUB.XVII.1.).

⁶ Bo. 5041.IV.10 (=KUB.X.11) and Bo. 5456.II.13 (=KUB.XVII.1.).

⁷ Bo. 115.III.25.31 (=KUB.II.3).

⁸ Bo. 3117.IV.13 (unpublished).

From all this it seems that the second alternative is true, i.e., that the Damnassara-goddesses are of a *special* nature, which suggests that it is unlikely that they were concerned with the flight of the Kurustamma-people, or with the treaty about them with Egypt, but that they were concerned with the violation of this treaty by the Hatti-people. Since the Kanisian formation by *-sara* of their name betrays a recent origin as a divine name, and since the usual determinative for goddesses in the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing is the snake (*i'r-t*) 𐎓, which with the reading *w'dj-t* means Buto, the Serpent-goddess of Lower Egypt, and since its dual *w'dj-t* "the two Serpent-goddesses" means Buto and Nekhbet," the tutelary goddesses of Lower and Upper Egypt, it may be supposed, that the *damnassara*-serpents¹ were chosen to be the representatives of these Egyptian tutelary serpent-goddesses of Lower and Upper Egypt and were made deities, only when this first treaty of Hatti with Egypt concerning the Kurustamma-people was concluded.

This conjecture best explains all the features known about the Damnassara-beasts and -goddesses and the role, which they play in §8 of Morsili's prayer against the pestilence, as primarily concerned with the violation of the treaty with Egypt. The fact that they belong to the pantheon of the Horrians, i.e., of Mittanni in Upper-Mesopotamia and North Syria, shows that their personalities—not their names—were taken over from Mittanni, which was allied with Egypt during the century before Soppilulioma's war against Mittanni and Egypt.

There is only one occasion on which the Hittite people could have concluded a treaty with the people of Egypt about the people of the Hittite city of Kurustamma, namely when the latter had come into Egyptian territory as fugitives.

The chronological question thus raised may easily be answered by the following facts. The country of the Gasga-people, to which the city of Kurustamma belonged, was conquered by Soppilulioma in the year before his conquest of Gargamis and the death of the king of Egypt (Amenophis IV) (1352 B.C.), i.e., 1353 B.C., as we know from the annals of Soppilulioma,¹ and from his letter VAT. 7476 to the successor

¹ E. Forrer, *Die Boghzaköi-Texte in Umschrift* II.1926.Nr.41 § 1-6.

of the dead Egyptian king (Tut-ankh-Amon),¹ where he says (Obverse 7'): "The whole of Gasga I enslaved." Only from this year 1353 B.C. onwards did the city of Kurustamma belong to the Hittite empire; there was no reason why the inhabitants of Kurustamma should flee *before* this time. But when Soppilulioma subjugated the whole country of Gasga, many Gasgaeans may have tried to escape captivity by flight, and those of Kurustamma succeeded in reaching Egyptian territory.

In the next year, 1352 B.C., Soppilulioma began the siege of the city of Gargamis and sent his generals Lupakki and Tatta-zalma into the country of Amka (the Biq'a-plain); they devastated it and brought the spoil to Soppilulioma. Just at this time the Egyptian king Bibhururija (= Amenophis IV) died, and his widow Dahamun-eka—says the Hittite text—asked Soppilulioma by letter to send her one of his sons, that he might become king of Egypt. Soppilulioma sent his eunuch Ḫatti-zidi as ambassador to the queen of Egypt for verification of her letter and in the meantime conquered Gargamis. When Ḫatti-zidi was in Egypt, the queen of Egypt sent to Soppilulioma a second letter confirming the first one. Soppilulioma then sent one of his sons to Egypt.²

This Hittite embassy of Ḫatti-zidi to Egypt was the very opportunity to clear up the case of the fugitives from Kurustamma and to conclude a treaty about them with the Egyptians. It cannot have been at a later time, because the son of Soppilulioma, who was sent to Egypt, was murdered, and Soppilulioma declared war on the new Egyptian king, who can only have been Tut-ankh-Amon.

The conclusion of the treaty about Kurustamma may have taken place some months—but not more—earlier, if we take into account the words of Morsili's prayer given above, according to which the Hittites broke their oath when Soppilulioma *first* sent troops to Amga. If this is right, the tablet containing the treaty about Kurustamma had been brought to Egypt before the embassy of Ḫatti-zidi and before the raid of the generals

¹ Discussed by E. Forrer in "*Forschungen*" II, 1. 1926 p. 28–30.

² Annals of Soppilulioma Bo. 2003. III–IV. = KBo. V. 6 (Hrozný) = E. Forrer, *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* Nr. 41. Vgl. Bo. 2541 + Bo. 2685 in E. Forrer "*Forschungen*" II, 1. 1926, p. 23.

Lupakki and Tatta-zalma on Amka, and shortly before or after the beginning of the siege of Gargamis, and reached Egypt in the last months of the life of Amenophis IV, whereas its confirmation by the Egyptians only arrived after his death. In any case the treaty must have been concluded in the year of the death of Amenophis IV, i.e., in 1352 B.C.

Hence it may be stated that in the year 1353 B.C. the people of the Gasgaean city of Kurustamma, presumptive subjects of the Hittite king Soppiluliuma entered the Egyptian territory as fugitives. In the next year, 1352 B.C., viz., that of the death of Bibhurija (=Amenophis IV), a treaty concerning them was concluded between the Hittites and the Egyptians.

We may conclude that the Egyptian king allowed them to settle in a sparsely populated district, and that they founded several villages. In the prayer of Morsili we only hear about the people of (the city) Kurustamma and not about the country of Kurustamma. Hence we cannot assume that they numbered more than some hundred or at the most a few thousand people. We may compare the 7,000 fugitives who came into the country of Miellavanda (VAT. 6692.III.10),¹ the 4,000 who escaped into the country of the Seha-river, and were delivered by it to Morsili, the 1,000 whom Morsili recovered from the country of Azzi,² or the 3,000 people whom Morsili deported from the two cities Aribsa and Duggamma.³

They probably called themselves "people of Kurustamma" and "people of Gasga," but not "people of Ḫatti," Hittites, because they had only recently become Hittites. Hence they got their name Hittites (IV) from their neighbours, the Canaanites and Amorites, who called them Hittites, because they came from Hittite territory and because they were previously subjects of the Hittite king in an official sense.

When the Tsherkess and other Caucasian peoples came to Turkey as fugitives, they were at first concentrated near cities for half a year or so; then they were allowed to settle in unoccupied territory.² They build themselves houses in places

¹ E. Forrer "*Forschungen*" I, 2.1929 p. 112, 172, 173.

² A. D. Mordtmann "*Anatolien*" Hanover 1925 p. 361, 376.

³ E. Forrer "*Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* II. Nr. 48 § 41. But that is only the share of the king; the share of the knights is not included in this number.

where no village had ever stood before.—It will have been the same in ancient Palestine. The Kurustamma-people, or Hittites IV, will thus have been concentrated near the cities of the hill-country of Judah. Jerusalem already existed, because it is frequently mentioned in the Amarna-letters. But Hebron is not mentioned and hence may have been a foundation of the Hittites IV, the Kurustamma-people, in the year 1353 B.C. The same may be the case with the third Hittite city Beersheba. But archæological evidence may make it possible—I myself have not yet had the opportunity to see Jerusalem, Hebron or Beersheba—to decide at a glance from the form of the tell and from the surface potsherds whether Hebron or Beersheba is older than 1353 or not.

In any case, the fugitives would not have obtained existing inhabited cities as dwelling places, but only unoccupied territory. They would have preferred mounds of old ruined cities as building-places for their villages. But the Hittite occupation of ancient cities like Jerusalem can only have been a later development. They may have settled there as colonists in a time of peace ; or they may have taken advantage of the disturbances which followed the downfall of the Egyptian power, after the Philistines had come in, to attack cities of the Amorites or Canaanites. We know that the Tsherkess fugitives, even in the Turkey of the time of the Sultans, had bloody struggles for the pasture-ground with their new neighbours,¹ and the warlike people of Kurustamma probably behaved much in the same way. From these facts we should expect, for archæological research, that in genuine Hittite sites the Hittite layer will be the lowest, or in sites with earlier settlements, that there will be a chronological gap between these and the Hittite settlement.

Doubtless these Hittites from Kurustamma would continue to make their utensils, weapons and pottery just as before, that is in the Hittite manner. Their neighbours may have learnt from them, and as the result of such imitation a new mode may have arisen, which the archæologist can recognize by comparison with the utensils of the Anatolian Hittite civilization as of Hittite origin. But it is also possible that they quickly assimilated the Canaanite civilization. Here the archæologist must continue the work of the historian.

¹E. Banse " *Die Türkei* " Braunschweig 1919 p. 60.

The influx of a few thousand newcomers from Kurustamma would not normally mean a change of any importance in the ethnical character of the population of Palestine. Anthropologically the Gasga-people of Kurustamma consisted of Armenoid Proto-Hattians plus Indogermanoid Luvians plus Indogermanoid Kanisians. But since the Luvians and Kanisians came into the Gasga-country only as conquerors, the stock of the Gasgaeans will have been Proto-Hittian anthropologically. And this means very likely no great difference from the aboriginal stock of Palestine.

There is also no reason to believe that these people of Kurustamma actually brought Indo-european, especially Indo-aryan, elements into Palestine. In so far as there are such elements in the proper names of the Amarna-letters, they must have come in at earlier times in connection with the invasion of the Horrians from upper Mesopotamia.

Concerning the language of the Kurustamma-people it may well be that all the three languages, Proto-Hittian, Luvian and Kanisian, were known to them. But one would expect that their everyday language was Luvian. Some families of Kanisian origin may have preserved their language, but probably these did not emigrate but became true subjects of the Hittite king. Proto-Hittian finally survived perhaps only in some religious chants which were handed down by the priests and the old wives. Two hundred years later the Luvian language may in the Gasga-territory itself have been supplanted by the Kanisian language owing to the strong influence of Kanisian-Hittite domination and civilization. But the Kurustamma-Hittites of Palestine must have preserved the older form of speech. We do not know whether they retained their own language for only a few generations, or until the time of Solomon, or even up to the time of the Hatte of Ashdod, mentioned in 711 B.C.

It may be remembered that Solomon did not allow the Hittites and the other non-Israelite people of Judah (see above p. 203, Nr. 18, 1 Kings 9 : 20, parallel Nr. 21, 2 Chr. 8 : 7) to enter the army like the Israelites, but made them bondsmen of the king and do statute-labour "until this day," as the author of the books of the Kings says, i.e., about 560 B.C. By this depressing regulation Solomon isolated the national

minorities from the Israelites and caused them to preserve their nationality after the fall of Judah into the Babylonian captivity.

From the above material we may draw the following conclusion : The name " Hittite " in Palestine has two separate origins. In the first place the people of Kurustamma, who came to Palestine as fugitives from the Gasga-territory in Asia Minor in 1353 B.C., were called Hittites after the empire of the Kanisian Hittites to which they escaped. From them come the Hittites of the hill-country of Judah and the cities of Beersheba, Hebron and Jerusalem. This origin may be preserved in the designation of Ahi-melek and Uriah as Hittites. In the second place the use of the name Hittite for the Tabalians of northern Syria was taken over by the Israelites from the Aramaeans, who in their turn had taken over the name Hittite from the Assyrians in their use of it for the Tabalian successors of the Kanisian-Hittite empire in northern Syria.

THE DESERT YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY

BY MAJOR C. S. JARVIS
(*Late Governor of Sinai*)

(*Report of a Lecture delivered to the members of the Palestine Exploration Fund on Thursday, 25th February, 1937.*)

THE Chairman (Colonel Sir Charles Close), in introducing the lecturer, said that Major Jarvis had spent thirteen years in Sinai, a country on which he had written two books.¹ Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund would be interested to know that Major Jarvis was a supporter of the interesting and probably correct theory that the exodus of the Israelites took place along the shores of the Mediterranean and that they had nothing to do with the southern point of the Sinai peninsula.

Major C. S. Jarvis then delivered his lecture as follows :

As I am speaking to a society learned in archæology, I approach the subject of "The Desert Yesterday and To-day" with some trepidation, for I am in no sense of the word an archæologist, nor am I an antiquarian. My trepidation is in no way diminished by the fact that Colonel Newcombe, who actually mapped a large part of the desert about which I am going to talk, is sitting in the audience.

What I have seen in Eastern Sinai, Southern Palestine and Trans-Jordan is not by any means a new discovery, for Sir Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence explored the area in 1914. I think I am right in saying that they did not discover anything of very great antiquity there, though they did find that in the late Roman period there had been considerable prosperity in that part of the world and that there were several large deserted towns in that barren area. Their book, *The Wilderness of Zin*, recently republished by Cape, deals with the archæological aspect of the country.

¹ *Yesterday and To-day in Sinai*, Blackwood; *Three Deserts*, John Murray.

When I first went to Sinai in an administrative capacity in 1922—I do not count my war-time service in 1916-17—I toured the whole peninsula by camel, and the impression left on me then was that it was a semi-desert land with no past whatsoever except for the Monastery of St. Catherine in the south, the Temple of Serabit el Khadim at the turquoise mines, and what I call the “Oldest Road in the World,” the track that runs from Kantara, along the coast, through Bardawil and El Arish to Gaza in Palestine, on which there is a chain of small wayside towns. With those exceptions, I came to the conclusion that the whole of the big central plateau, an area of clay and gravel with innumerable shallow wadis or torrent-beds and rough limestone mountains, had never had a past; that is to say, there had been nothing more than the ordinary Arab cultivation, which consists of scratching the soil for the sowing rain-crops of wheat and barley in obvious catchment areas.

Gradually, however, as my eye became trained to the harsh and barren scenery, I discovered that my first impression was entirely wrong, and that the ragged lines of rocks that occurred here and there, the piles of stones and heaps of chalk and limestone, were not natural features but the remains of a very extensive settlement of cultivators, who terraced hillsides, built stone huts and cattle kraals, fenced orchards, and carved cisterns out of solid rock. You may consider that I was extremely unobservant not to notice all this in the first place, but one must remember that the eye is an organ that requires training. It is extraordinary how little the eye sees of things that it is not trained to pick out, and the remains of cultivation to be seen in Sinai are not at all obvious to the eye.

Limestone mountains rise in all parts of the central plateau, and my contention is that the Israelites received the law somewhere in the Gebel Hellal, and in this connection it is interesting to note that Hellal is Arabic for “lawful,” or to be more exact “that which is permitted.” In the past the Gebel Hellal area was extensively cultivated, the greater portion of the rough hillsides having been terraced and nearly all the small wadis or gorges dammed. Now there is nothing whatever there.

From the highlands of Sinai a pass leads down to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, the road dropping 2,900 feet

in about one and a half miles, some of the hairpin bends being 1 in 3. At the head of the Gulf lies the little town of Akaba, which might someday be of importance. If Palestine continues to be as prosperous as at present, Akaba might possibly be opened up as a southern port for Palestine. It has a deep-water harbour, and can be easily connected with the Hedjaz railway at Ma'an. A peculiarity of the Gulf in the neighbourhood of the town of Akaba is that at a distance of three feet from high-water mark it is possible to obtain fresh water simply by digging in the shingle. During the war a quay was built by the British Navy, and you will remember that Akaba was one of the places Lawrence took by direct assault during the Arab revolt.

The fort in Akaba itself is now used as a custom-house and police-station. It was built in the fifteenth century by Sultan Selim of Egypt, who erected a number of similar forts for the protection of pilgrims. There are a large number of these forts south of Ma'an along the Mecca-Medina road. The fort at Akaba was built for the protection of Egyptian pilgrims, and there is another precisely the same in the centre of Sinai, at Nekhl. In the days of Sultan Selim these forts were garrisoned by Moors; as the object was the protection from the Arabs of pilgrims going to Mecca, it was thought the Moors would provide a good antidote! Descendants of these Moors now living in Akaba and in Nekhl are known as Akabowi and Nekhlowi.

Off the Sinai coast, just below Taba, there is a small island called Faroan, commanding the southern route down the Sinai Peninsula. Reynaud de Châtillon built a castle on the island and the greater part of its walls are still intact. Why the Crusaders occupied Faroan, I do not know, but I do know that it was here that Reynaud de Châtillon fitted out a fleet. The ships were carried in sections from Jaffa by camel, put together on the island, from whence they sailed south and harried the Saracen shipping as far south as Jeddah.

Southern Sinai is a district of solid granite, with mountains rising some 7,000 or 8,000 feet. Up to the third century Gebel Serbal to the west of the southern part of the Sinai Peninsula was believed to be the Mountain of the Law. Later the site was shifted more to the east, to Gebel Musa, or the Mountain of Moses.

Just south of Suez, on the Sinai side, are the Ain Musa or Wells of Moses, of which there are seven, and the water, which is not particularly good, bubbles up out of the soil.

In Southern Sinai there is the monastery of St. Catherine, founded by Justinian, on the supposed site of the Giving of the Law. The church inside, which now, unfortunately, has a corrugated iron roof and a late Victorian belfry, was built in A.D. 342 by Queen Helena and the walls round the monastery were built by Justinian in A.D. 530, and the monastery is probably one of the oldest occupied buildings in the world. The area inside the walls is very circumscribed; nevertheless, there are in it a flour mill, olive presses, a large refectory, a big rest-house for visitors, the church, sixteen or seventeen small chapels dotted about here and there in the walls and, last but not least, a mosque, built in the tenth century, probably as a sop to the Saracens. This apparently has never been used.

Wadi Gedeirat, in Central Sinai, is the Kadesh Barnea of the Bible at which the Israelites made their headquarters. It lies comparatively near the Palestine border, and was one of the places occupied and exploited by the Romans. When I went there the Roman dam had been washed away, and the reservoir was full of silt. I repaired the dam, made a water-course and got the Arabs to settle on the various patches of land. Down the Wadi Gedeirat there flows a stream about three feet wide and six inches deep, a stream which in England is only a nuisance, but which in the desert means life to the nomad and fairly extensive cultivation.

The inhabitants of Sinai are nomads, but they are just the same as the inhabitants of Southern Palestine and Southern Trans-Jordan. I always think of them indiscriminately as Arabs or Beduins, and when I use the word "Arab" I am not thinking of educated people who live in villages in Palestine and call themselves Arabs, but of the true nomad who treks with his family along the Oldest Road in the World and other tracks in Sinai, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, with all that, unfortunately, the average Arab possesses—a third-rate camel, with a young one coming on, and three goats. He is a very primitive man, leading a very primitive life; everything he possesses, except his rifle, dates back to the days of Abraham. He has no use for civilization in any form.

The Arab law is that of an eye for an eye, a life for a life. According to Arab law, the whole tribe is responsible for the misdeeds of an individual member of the tribe. If one man murders another from another tribe, the whole tribe is fined and forced to pay blood-money. Normally, blood-money for a dead man is forty camels, valued at about £10 each, making £400 for a dead man. As the price of camels has fallen, murder in Sinai is now a little cheaper. A camel is now worth about £7, so blood-money would only amount to about £280. Bishaa is a trial by ordeal, instituted to discover whether or not a man who pleads not guilty is really guilty. The suspected man is asked if he will accept the Bishaa, which consists of licking a red-hot ladle three times. The Sheikh of the Bishaa is an hereditary post. He heats up the ladle. The accused man is brought forward, given a glass of water with which to wash his mouth. Then he licks the ladle three times, following which his tongue is examined. If it is burnt he is found guilty ; if there are no signs of burning he is declared innocent. On the occasion on which I witnessed the ceremony the man's tongue did not show any sign of having been seared by heat. The belief is that if a man is guilty he will be frightened and his mouth and tongue will be dry ; therefore his tongue will be burnt. If he is not guilty he will not be frightened and there will be sufficient saliva in his mouth to protect his tongue. When I was in Sinai I would not permit them to hold their ceremony of the Bishaa, because it is altogether too primitive, but in my early days I did once witness it.

The Arab loves litigation and will spend much time over a lawsuit concerning land. Indeed, the question of land is a matter of honour with the Arabs ; they get wildly excited about it, whether the land is of value or not. Actually they do very little with it. They exist mainly by camel-breeding, but there is now little of that. An Arab does, however, produce one or two camels during the year, which he tries to sell. He also keeps a few goats for goat-milk and occasionally for making cheese. In winter he scratches a small area of the soil to grow patches of barley or wheat, and if hard up he will go harvesting for the settled inhabitants of El Arish, Gaza or Beersheba. He gets a quarter of the crop of the harvest, but he will only go harvesting if really destitute. He prefers to wander round

in search of grazing, following an age-old custom. He may now have only an old she-goat but still he will trek 250 miles down to Trans-Jordan to graze that goat.

Each Arab tribe has a *darak*, or area, which belongs to the tribe, and in which no other tribe can wander without permission ; and each Arab owns a portion of land within that *darak*. It is his by inheritance. You may find one miserable, ineffectual old man owning hundreds of acres of good soil in a wonderful catchment area and doing nothing whatsoever with it, and in another place a family of strong virile young men who might possibly run an orchard, but possess only a stretch of hopeless desert on which nothing can be made to grow.

Every inch of desert is claimed by some Arab. Governments do not recognize this shadowy ownership where no signs of cultivation exist, but if one wanted to settle cultivators from one of the villages on an Arab area opened up by the Government, those people would be afraid to settle there, knowing full well that unless the Arab landlord had been bought out the area would be claimed by some Beduin as soon as the Government left or was unable to protect them. The Arabs have during the ages seen so many governments and civilizations fall that they have not much faith in their continued existence for any length of time.

I have a theory that it is possible to help the Arab, to a certain extent, by getting him partially settled on the land ; I do not mean making him give up his nomad life, but I think there is just sufficient energy in the Arab to get him to cultivate some small patch in a catchment area where he could have forty or fifty olive trees, which would bring in some money and some oil ; and instead of only winter barley he could grow maize or millet and the cheaper vegetables, such as onions and tomatoes, and thus generally better his lot. That is not an altogether hopeless idea, because the Arab himself always has some idea of cultivation. In some of the wadis you will find here and there a little Arab garden with some old Arab in charge of it. He has made a catchment area and channels to bring water down on to his land ; he has inefficiently fenced the area with war-time barbed wire, and thorns and has planted a certain number of trees—usually very poor quality pomegranates. I maintain that this initiative can

be extended. Whenever I found a man with such a garden I always sent down a work party to make him an underground cistern, and fence the garden with barbed-wire, and then gave him 100 trees to start with. I did succeed in stabilizing one small tribe in the Wadi Gedeirat—an old Roman settlement—who have thriving gardens and are now living on the fat of the land—or what passes for the fat of the land in the Arab world.

There is, of course, a school of thought—what one might call a rather fantastic, sentimental and “sloppy” school of thought—which thinks the nomad Beduin such a marvellous romantic figure of a man that it would be sacrilege or something worse to turn him into a cultivator. I have never been able to see that point of view. Personally, I see nothing detrimental or unmanly in being a cultivator. I was brought up to believe that the cultivator, the farmer and stock-breeder, was the backbone of our nation, and if it is a question of a tight corner I would rather have a company of farmers and farmers’ men with me than double the number of nomads; and if it comes to the question of honour, integrity, and loyalty, I think I’d rather trust the word of the farmer than that of the nomad. It is the nomad who has prevented the cultivator spreading over the deserts of the East; in fact, the nomad has for ages preyed, like a jackal, on the cultivator.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Beduin is in an almost permanent state of starvation. Some of the sheikhs and richer men are well enough fed, but the average tribesman is well under middle height and of poor physique; as Palmer said over sixty years ago “they are poor roasted snipe of men.” Few Beduin women have more than two children because they are seldom in a strong enough state to conceive. I maintain, therefore, that if one can better the lot of these people and provide them with a little more food it is one’s duty to do so. And their lot could be improved, as the desert they occupy need not be so hopeless and barren as it is. They need not give up the nomad life entirely; they can still wander about in their picturesque clothes for the benefit of scenario writers and lady novelists with an Oriental sex urge.

As Woolley and Lawrence pointed out in *The Wilderness of Zin*, the public security in Palestine and Syria under Roman rule from A.D. 300 onwards, after centuries of massacres and

warfare, caused such an increase in the population of those countries that people were more or less forced out of the fertile lands to the north and, through land-hunger, compelled to eke out a living in the deserts of Eastern Sinai, Southern Palestine, and Western Trans-Jordan. Land-hunger was one reason; the other was the sea trade-routes from farther East. Constant caravans carried merchandise from the ports of Akaba, Suez and Tor, and merchants required forage for animals and foodstuffs, so villages sprang up on the routes. Merchandise landed at Akaba went up the Wadi Ithm *via* Shobek, Kerak to Philadelphia (now Amman) and Jerash, or else *via* the Wadi Araba, Kurnub, Beersheba to Hebron, the mart of Palestine. Goods from Tor and Suez came *via* Darb el Shur across Sinai, this being the alternative route to the Oldest Road in the World. It is not exactly a modern by-pass because it was used by Abraham and Isaac.

All the towns that sprang up in this part of the desert—Esbeita, Abda, Auja, Kurnub, Gedeirat, Raheiba, &c.—existed in places where to-day one family of Beduin can barely eke out existence. They were not big towns, but they were stone-built, and had, presumably, populations of from 5,000 to 8,000. Esbeita, for instance, had several churches and a monastery. In most cases there was no natural water supply, but the people selected good catchment areas and carved underground cisterns out of the solid rock. There are hundreds of these cisterns, or *harabas* as the Arabs call them. Another system of water-supply was the construction of reservoirs of cement, a channel being cut to lead the water for a mile or more into those reservoirs. Thus in a waterless desert sufficient water was conserved from the rainfall to supply the needs of the town. Cultivation was not confined to the vicinity of the towns. Along the Darb el Shur route, for miles on either side, in Sinai and all round that strip of Palestine territory on the Sinai frontier the hillsides have been terraced for orchards and there are many *harabas* containing enough water for several hundreds of people. Walls have been built across every wadi. In flood time the silt was conserved and the water had a chance to spread out and soak in. The late Romans probably knew the secret of dry cultivation, i.e., working up of fine tilth to conserve moisture. It is extraordinary what wonderful

results can be obtained by that means and how little rain is required.

According to Woolley and Lawrence, and according to most surveyors who have been in Sinai, there is no reason to think that the rainfall to-day is any less than it was 2,000 years ago. I imagine that the fruits those early cultivators grew were olives, vines, pomegranates, almonds, apricots, carob, the carob bean being quite a useful food for a primitive man, like the Arab, and excellent fodder for animals. All these trees require a minimum of eight inches of rain a year. In the worst years in Sinai and Southern Palestine there will be four inches of rain, but if a garden is made in a catchment area and trenches are run out on either side to bring in the surface water from the hillside, it is easy to give a garden like that not four inches but twenty-four inches even in the driest year.

This is not mere supposition on my part, as I have proved it. I have reconstructed some of these old Roman gardens with their natural irrigation systems, and I have made new ones. Trees of the varieties I have mentioned have been planted and are growing extremely well and bearing fruit.

Some years ago I went into Petra by the western road from the Wadi Araba, and there was not a sign of life. Judging by the blockhouses all the way up and the miles and miles of terracing reaching to the top of the hills, it must in the past have been like Southern Italy with vine and olive gardens and small patches of corn. To-day this area produces nothing, definitely nothing.

My contention is that something could be made of this area of Eastern Sinai, Southern Palestine and Western Trans-Jordan that has been allowed to go to waste. Mind, I am not suggesting that it can be made into a land flowing with milk and honey, or that it will provide a solution to the Jew-Arab question of Palestine. It is not a country to which the man with an agricultural certificate should go expecting to earn good dividends, but it is a country that will support primitive man, provided he does not mind hard work and a bare existence. It is very suited to the hardy village folk one sees in Southern Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Sinai. They would certainly make something out of it, but as I have already said they feel there must be some guarantee of protection from the



INDIAN CORN IRRIGATION IN ARAB GARDEN
(see p. 121)



UNDERGROUND CISTERN CARVED FROM NATURAL ROCK, CAPABLE OF
HOLDING HALF A MILLION GALLONS OF WATER. HUNDREDS OF THESE
CISTERNS EXIST IN THIS DESERTED AREA
(see p. 123)



ARAB GARDEN IN THE WADY GEDEIRAH. RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE OLD ROMAN IRRIGATION AND NOW
YIELDING FRUIT VALUE ABOUT £70 ANNUALLY

Arabs if they settle there. It is going to be very uphill work settling the Beduin, but this should be attempted also. It is a harsh land with water shortage, sandstorms and every form of set-back ; but it is an area that in the past undoubtedly supported at least 100,000 people, but to-day I doubt whether there are 2,000 people living there.

I served for eighteen years in the desert ; I do not want to draw on your sympathy and make you think I spent a miserable time there, so I will conclude by showing you my garden at El Arish, a garden made out of the desert sand. I think you will agree that it contains plenty of bloom and well-grown trees, and that the desert has some possibilities. (Applause.)

Colonel Newcombe expressed the hope that on some future occasion Major Jarvis would spend time on further elaboration of his theory as to the Wanderings of the Israelites, and the Chairman, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Major Jarvis, endorsed this hope, because there were many who disagreed with the theory. It certainly ought to be more fully thrashed out.

A JEWISH TOMB IN THE KEDRON VALLEY

BY E. L. SUKENIK

(Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

IN recent years, the Archæological Department of the Hebrew University started a systematic search—as far as was possible with the means at our disposal—for the Jewish tombs in the Kedron Valley, and in the vicinity of the village of Silwân.

Our search revealed that a great number of these tombs were already emptied of their contents, but from time to time an unopened tomb came to light, which contained ossuaries, some pottery deposits with them, &c. The most welcome things in these finds—since the practice of burial in ossuaries and their approximate date are already known—are the inscriptions, or rather graffiti, found written or scratched on the ossuaries.

Several of these unopened tombs had, besides plain ossuaries, also decorated or inscribed ossuaries. In one of them, we even found a painted four-line inscription on a wall, which I published elsewhere.¹

In this article, I shall describe one of these tombs with inscribed ossuaries, which are somewhat out of the ordinary (Plate IV).

This tomb was found by us at the end of 1934, near the Bedawi cemetery of the Beni-Sawâhir, close to Beit-Sahûr el-'Atîqa. It was a very simple tomb consisting of only one chamber, 2.20 m. long and 2 m. wide, partly cut out of the rock and partly built in regular layers. The height could not be ascertained because the roof was found collapsed, but it seems to have been about 1.30 m. high. Traces of an entrance were found at the north-western end, but as the north wall—which was built on the slope of the hill—had been destroyed, nothing more can be said about it.

Five ossuaries, most of which had been broken by the collapsed roof, were found in this chamber. They were of the

¹ *Tarbiz*, Vol. VI, pp. 190 ff.

usual type, some of them being plain and some decorated with rosettes made with a compass, or with other geometric patterns. Of these five ossuaries, three were inscribed.

1. An ossuary with a flat lid, 67 cms. long, 30 cms. wide, and 39 cms. high, and standing on four small feet. The front is decorated with a narrow band of incised fluting, bordered with zig-zag lines, surmounting two rectangles cut by diagonals. On the back there is scratched a one-line Aramaic inscription (Pl. V, 1; Pl. VI, 1):

חניא בר אלכשה
Onias, son of Alexa

The writing was apparently done with some sharp tool on the soft stone of the ossuary, by a person who was evidently not very familiar with that "trade," although we must, however, admit that the writing is correct.

There is a difference between the ה and the ת. In the former, both vertical lines project above the horizontal bar, whereas in the latter either they do not project, or only the right vertical line projects. The left vertical line in the ה was apparently not intended to meet the horizontal bar. What is somewhat unusual is the א, in which the final vertical line is lacking, a peculiarity which is sometimes met with in ossuary inscriptions.

The name חניא, Onias (Ὀνίας), figures prominently in the Jewish onomastikon of the period of the Second Temple, but appears here for the first time on an ossuary inscription, although cognate forms such as חנניה, Ananias (Ἀνανίας), חנן Ananos (Ἀνανος), חנין Aninas (Ἀνίνος), were met with quite frequently.

The engraver apparently started to write, after the first name, the name of the father—of which he had already written the initial letter, the א—when he remembered that it was necessary to insert, between the two names, the word בר, "son."

Alexa could either be the hypokoristikon of Alexandros or the name Alexas. In the Hellenistic period the name Alexander was in vogue, as known, also among the Jews. The name Alexas is frequently met with in the Herodian period, being the name of a few of the members of the family of Herod

the Great,¹ and also later.² As a proper name it appears for the first time in ossuary inscriptions. It is worth noting the transcription of the Greek ξ by כֶּשׁ, in contrast to the Nicanor inscription³ where the ξ is transcribed by כֶּס.

2. An undecorated ossuary with a rounded lid, 26 cms. wide, 29 cms. high. The length was unascertainable, since the ossuary was found broken. On one of the short sides there is a one-line Hebrew graffito (Pl. V, 2 ; Pl. VI, 2) :

אֶפִּיחַס בַּת אֶתְנָנֶרֶשׁ

At first, it was difficult to decipher the names which were scratched here, but the problem was soon solved when, among the fragments of the long side of this ossuary, the Greek names, of which the Hebrew appeared to be a transcription, came to light (Pl. V, 3 ; Pl. VI, 3) :⁴

ΑΠΦΙΑC ΑΘΗΝΑ (ΓΟΡΟΥ)

(Of) Apphia, daughter of Athena(goras)

¹ Josephus : Bellum I, 21, 1 ; 33, 6 ;

Antiquitatum XVII, I, 1 ; XVIII, 5, 4.

The last reference is to Alexas Helkias, son of Alexas—the second name, Helkias, being his Hebrew name חֶלְקִיָּהוּ—who married Kypros, granddaughter of Mariamne the Hasmonean, who bore him a daughter also called Kypros. Elsewhere, I drew attention to the fact that the naming of children after their parents was a common practice among the Jewish aristocracy at least at that time.

² Idem : Bellum VI, 1, 8 ; 2, 6.

³ PEF Quarterly Statement, 1903, pp. 125 ff.

I did not happen to have seen Dr. Belleli's article in the *Corriero Israelitico*, mentioned by Macallister in the PEF Quarterly Statement, 1905, pp. 253 ff., in which he attacks the word אֶלֶכְסָא, found on the Nicanor ossuary, as impossible. Here again this name appears. In the light of this inscription, it seems now to me that the two words in Hebrew, נִקְנֹר אֶלֶכְסָא appearing under the Greek inscription of the Nicanor ossuary were meant to be the proper names "Nicanor" and "Alexas," the word אֶלֶכְסָא being not a shortened form of the ethnic אֶלֶכְסַנְדֵּר, but a proper name. We have to admit that this famous ossuary contained the bones of two members of the family of Nicanor the Alexandrian, the names of whom were Nicanor and Alexas. As we have seen in a previous note, there was then a custom among the Jews of having certain names repeated in the same family, even for father and son, and there would be no objection to admitting that even the sons of Nicanor the Alexandrian were interred in this ossuary.

⁴ In the accompanying photograph of this inscription there are fewer letters than in the given drawing, because the third fragment was identified only after the photograph had been taken. The same happened in the case of inscription No. 4 (Pl. V, 4 ; Pl. VI, 4).

Both names are met with for the first time on ossuary inscriptions. The first name occurs in the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, verse 2, Ἀπφία.¹

The name of the father, which occurs in ancient sources as Ἀθηναγόρας or Ἀθυναγόρας is a name which frequently occurs from Greek times down to the first centuries of the Christian Era.²

These graffiti (both the Hebrew and the Greek) were evidently written by a more skilled writer, if we are correct in assuming that both were written by the same person. It appears that the Greek was written first, with more leisure, and the Hebrew transcription was started hurriedly—as the cramped and almost careless lettering in the first part of the inscription seems to suggest—but was finished with more care and better spacing of the letters. In contrast to the previous inscription, there are flourishes at the top of some of the letters—a feature which often appears in these inscriptions.

The most interesting detail in the transcription of the first name is in the last two letters, the reading of which is not quite certain. The first letter could be either a ה or a ת. The second letter, at a glance, looks like a ו, but there is no doubt that we must take it for a ס. We have here either a group of letters הס or תס. This would be the transliteration not only of the name itself, but also of its genitive form as in Greek, which is not required in the Hebrew. Since this name was apparently written in haste, as mentioned above, the genitive form was probably inserted unconsciously. The transliteration of this name is interesting also for the Greek pronunciation of the letters.

The Hebrew transcription of the second name is entirely devoid of vowels, and it would be very difficult to know, had we not the Greek version, what name it represents. The ס at the end of the word is here also transliterated by a ו.

3. The most peculiar graffito met with among the ossuaries of this tomb, was that found on the third ossuary, which was

¹ In order to avoid any misunderstanding, the writer—mindful of a previous unpleasant experience—wishes to emphasize that there is here no suggestion of identification.

² *Pape-Benseler* : Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen. s.v.

plain and had scratched on its rear side, twice repeated, the word :

ΟΣΤΟΦΑΓΟΣ

(Pl. V, 4 ; Pl. VI, 4).

Whereas usually—and also in the two ossuaries we have just dealt with—the graffiti are confined to the names of the persons buried in the ossuaries, in this instance the graffito refers not to the contents of the ossuary, but to the actual ossuary itself. The word ὀστοφάγος was evidently the designation for ossuaries at this period. The term “ostophagos”—bone-eater—was coined by parallel with “sarco-phagos,” meaning flesh-eater.

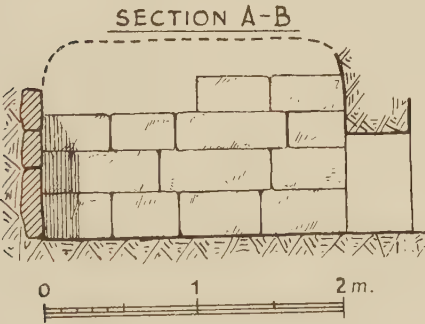
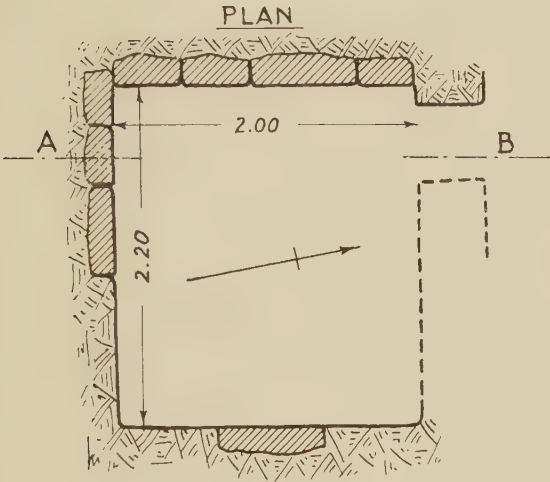
In old Greek literature, there are two names for ossuaries ; namely, ὀστοδοχεῖον (?), ὀστοθήκη. The name “ostophagos,” for ossuary, does not occur, as far as I could ascertain. In Strabo¹ the root ὀστοφαγέω—to eat bones—occurs. In Talmudic literature the name for these ossuaries is גלסרמא which is the Greek word γλωσσόκομον, meaning case or casket, and sometimes also coffin. The term γλωσσόκομον was found recently in the Jewish cemetery in Sheikh Abrek, but *our* ossuary inscription shows us the older term, and in dealing with these antiquities we could really use the term “ostophagoi” instead of “ossuaries.”

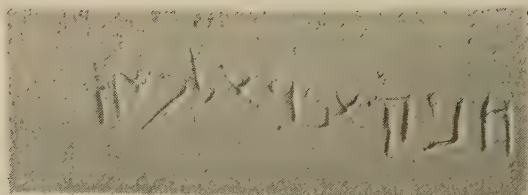
It is interesting to mention that I found in one of the earliest articles in English, published on the ossuaries by a member of the first Survey party, that he calls them “ostophagi.”

This otherwise insignificant tomb, therefore, provides us with some very interesting data, from many aspects.

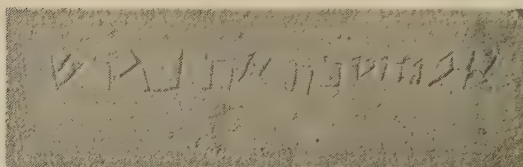
There were very few pottery fragments, but my impression from these fragments was that this tomb could be ascribed roughly to the Herodian period.

¹Strabo, XVI, 4, 17.





1.



2.



3.



4.

1.  חנה קצת אכלה פ"ה

2.  אבנתי לך את האבן הזאת

3.  ΑΠΦΙΑC ΑΘΗΝΑ


4.  ΔΕΤΟΦΛΑΓΟC ΔΕΤΟΦΛΑΓΟC


PALESTINE STATISTICS

BY ALBERT M. HYAMSON

AMONG the many advantages conferred on Palestine by its Mandatory Government has been the institution, unfortunately somewhat belated, of an Office of Statistics. To say that reliable statistics is the raw material on which a government has to work is a truism. And what is a necessity to other governments is doubly a necessity to that of Palestine, with its questions of immigration, of government employment, of government grants and a host of others, all dependent on reliable statistics. Of course the Government was not entirely devoid of such raw material before the Office of Statistics was established and its very able head, Mr. S. A. Cudmore, began to issue his bulletins a year ago. But only a part of the very wide field was scientifically covered and the remainder, of far greater extent, left open for the hazard of the guess and, still worse, for the propagandist. Mr. Cudmore has, of course, not entirely ousted these pests, but he has, already after only a few months, severely restricted their field, and perhaps when he has completed his programme, say a year hence, the opportunity of the propagandist so far as figures are concerned will have entirely passed.

Of all the figures supplied by Mr. Cudmore those of the widest interest are probably the population ones. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the total population of Palestine on 31st December last was 1,300,151, exclusive of the nomad population (estimated at 66,553 in November, 1931) and of the members of His Majesty's Forces. This total includes 384,055 Jews, 796,175 Moslems, and 108,513 Christians. The Moslems are with few exceptions all Arabs, and of the Christians the great majority, if not Arabs, belong to the Arab cultural sphere. The nomads are also all Arabs. (The term Arab is taken in the widest sense to denote Arab-speaking.) Thus there were about 970,000 Arabs and 385,000 Jews in Palestine at the end of 1936. These figures are based

on the census figures of 1931 with the addition of the natural increase and the balance of immigration since that date. The excess of "visitors" entering over those leaving is taken into account, but no figure is given of those persons in the country who entered by evading the frontier controls or from Trans-jordan on whose Palestine frontier there is no control. An addition to both the Arab and Jewish figures should be made on this account. The Government Statistician is unable to estimate these additions, but the Jewish Agency, giving elsewhere the figure of 410,000 as the Jewish population at the end of 1936, apparently estimates the number of unrecorded Jewish entrants, since the end of 1931, at some 25,000. If a similar figure is attributed to the Arabs and the nomad population is taken as stationary the total population of Palestine, apart from His Majesty's Forces, should be about 1,417,000, of whom just under twenty-nine per cent. are Jews. The greater part of the Jewish increase was in the form of immigration. The number of recorded Jewish immigrants shows considerable variations from year to year, rising to the highest figure of 65,063 in 1935 and falling to 21,183 in 1936. These figures include visitors who remained in the country. The fall in Jewish immigration has been progressive for the greater part of the year. For instance in December, 1935, 4,563 Jewish immigrants were registered; in December, 1936, 815.

From the figures of births and deaths it appears that in Palestine as elsewhere both the Jewish birth and death rates are lower than those of the surrounding population. The Moslem birth-rate in 1936 was 53.14 per 1,000, practically the highest for fifteen years, and that of the Jews 29.74, the lowest during the same period. On the other hand the Moslem death-rate was 19.97, the lowest for the same period, and that of the Jews 8.82 also the lowest except for the previous year (8.58). In all cases the figures for Christians, who include a number of Europeans, fall between the other two sets. The low death-rate among Jews is to be accounted for in part by the large proportion of young adults in that section of the population. The infant mortality rate among the Jewish population is 68.70 per 1,000, just half of that among Moslems. In both cases considerable reductions on the figures for 1922-5 are shown.

Statistics of an entirely different character are those relating to the economic position. There are several elements that go to make up the picture which however is not complete. Nor can it be so. So many imponderables must be included in the economic picture of any country and Palestine is by no means an exception in this respect. Thus it is possible only to draw out of the monthly bulletins of the Office of Statistics figures that relate and leave to the reader the weaving of these figures, supplemented by other information that cannot be expressed in figures, into a complete pattern which should give a picture of the economic position of Palestine. And first to return to immigration. Of the 64,147 immigrants¹ who were registered in Palestine in 1935, 6,398 possessed at least £1,000. In 1936 the comparative figures were 31,671¹ including 3,014 with a similar capital. Palestine has always—since the British occupation—suffered from a big gap between imports and exports. This was as great as £13,638,000 in 1935. The latest figures under these heads stop at the end of November, 1936. The comparison between the first eleven months of the two years shows total imports for 1935, exclusive of bullion and specie, £16,382,774 (1936, £12,494,912); total exports, £3,709,916 (1936, £2,762,447). The imports of food, drink and tobacco and of unclassified articles showed increases. Those of raw materials fell more than thirty-one per cent. and manufactured articles almost forty-two per cent. On the other side the exports of food, drink and tobacco fell by over thirty per cent., mainly in the form of citrus fruits, but the export of manufactured articles increased by fifty-four per cent., but only to £135,743 in all. The tonnage of shipping entered and cleared also showed reductions, of about nine per cent. under the former heading and to a larger extent under the latter. Railway traffic showed a reduction in the earlier part of the year, but there was a considerable recovery later. On the whole the railway revenue showed an increase, but the number of passengers carried fell by two and a half per cent. and goods tonnage by fifteen per cent. The explanation of the apparent discrepancy lay in the longer journeys. For six months of the year—during which movement was considerably restricted—

¹Immigrants registered do not necessarily enter Palestine during the year of registration.

road competition was practically eliminated. On the other hand postal and telephone business showed a considerable increase—ten per cent. reckoned in receipts. Both wholesale and retail prices rose in the course of the year, although there was a slight drop in December. Retail prices rose 16.6 per cent. between March, 1936, and January, 1937. For the nine months of the financial year the Government revenues fell by £1,160,412 and the expenditure increased by £220,262. Considerable additional expenditure was incurred, but had not been brought into account by the end of December. Ignoring this additional expenditure which will considerably exceed the apparent surplus of the year, the accumulated surplus of the Palestine Government, accrued during the recent years of plenty, was increased by £104,848 to £6,372,653. The currency in circulation rose from £4,779,000 in January, 1935, to £5,741,000 in December, 1936, the highest point being in October, 1935 (£7,545,000) when there was a minor banking crisis. The total sums at the banks, of which there are about eighty in business, and Jewish credit co-operative societies, were £16,781,000, of which £11,163,000 was on current account. The paid-up capital and reserves of the seventy local banks amounted to £1,631,000. The total of customers' money held by all the banks—foreign and local—working in Palestine was £14,139,000, and the currency and bullion in hand £690,870. On 31st December £9,677,000 was on loan to customers. In considering these figures it should be remembered that during six months of the past year Palestine was in a state which cannot improperly be described as rebellion, and in the course of that period the greater part of the population abstained, as far as was possible, from all commercial activity.

The consumption of electricity shows a consistent and extraordinary increase from the day on which it was first made available. In 1927, the first complete year, there were 7,477 consumers and 2,527,126 kilowatts sold. In 1935, the latest complete year for which figures are available, the comparative figures are 53,246 consumers and 50,362,193 kilowatts. The first eleven months of 1936 showed a further increase of thirty-three per cent. on those of the previous year. Building activity in the four principal towns which continued to rise until June,

1935, in which month permits for 147,240 square metres were issued, then began to decline. A recovery was apparent in April, 1936, but the outbreak of that month brought the figures down again, the lowest being 39,706 in October, 1936. After the end of the disturbances there was a further recovery, and permits for 65,097 square metres were issued in the last month of the year, a figure very little below that for December, 1935. The total for the year, 1936, was, however, thirty-nine per cent. below that for 1935. All the towns showed a reduction, the largest being in Tel Aviv and Jaffa. In 1935, 306 new companies with an authorized capital of £3,117,000 were registered. In the same period existing companies increased their capital by £1,915,000. Comparative figures for 1936 are £1,038,000 and £833,000. On the other hand protested bills rose from 7,264 in 1935 to 10,111 in 1936. The increase set in in October, 1935, and the figures continued high until August, 1936.

The foregoing brief summary by no means exhausts the information given in these very valuable bulletins. Those interested in, for instance, Naturalization, the Agricultural situation, Fisheries, details of Foreign Trade, Land Transfers, Police Statistics, can obtain a wealth of information from the General Monthly Bulletins, while supplementary bulletins not only extend this information in many particulars, but also deal with other subjects such as Wage Rates.

THREE ANCIENT JEWISH RELIEFS

BY L. A. MAYER AND A. REIFENBERG

AT various times there have been found in Palestine, Syria and Egypt flat reliefs or round figures of soft limestone, wood or other material with circular openings inset with glass. Some of them represent male or female figures, others represent birds, such as doves or peacocks, and some are but square, many-sided or round frames for glass insets. Father L. Cré, who knew but a single object of this type in the shape of a bird (he regarded it as a peacock), saw in it an eucharistic vessel.¹ Macalister² made this theory his own and applied it to a specific case. Moulton³ went a step further and pronounced all objects of this type to be eucharistic, whilst others⁴ have described them as mirrors, amulets, votive offerings or children's toys.

Among several such flat reliefs in the collection of the Benedictine Fathers in the Monastery of the Dormition in Jerusalem, three are of outstanding interest.⁵

The first relief (fig. 1), 26 cms. long, 31.5 cms. high, 3.5 cms. thick, represents the pedimented or gabled wall of a building. A large opening or portal which rises above the base of the gable consists of a square headed door surmounted by a circular panel or tympanum ornamented with four small

¹ 'Une découverte eucharistique' (in *Revue Biblique*, 1894, vol. III), pp. 277-91.

² *The Excavation of Gezer*, 1912, I, p. 387 f., II, p. 455.

³ 'Gleanings in Archæology and Epigraphy' (in *Annual of the American School in Jerusalem*, vol. I, 1920), pp. 70-86.

⁴ Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (in *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes*), 1904, No. 8825, p. 144; Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, 1908, II, pp. 357-61; Michon, 'Miroirs antiques de verre doublé de plomb' (in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, 1909), pp. 231-50; Ronzevalle, 'Some alleged Palestinian pyxes' (in *Quarterly Statements*, 1921), pp. 172-4.

⁵ We avail ourselves of this opportunity to reiterate our warmest thanks to Father Mauritius Gisler for permission to photograph and publish these objects.

columns. On either side of the doorway are four vertical slits, in part masked by seven-branched candlesticks on tripods placed in front of them. In the gable above a shell-like semi-circular niche is represented. On either side of this niche shallow semi-circular recesses have been cut out, and in the centre there is a similar but circular recess. These recesses once contained glass, splinters of which were found in position. The lower end of the whole relief is finished off with an animal frieze showing two long-beaked birds pecking at a third of a similar species.

The second relief (fig. 2), 48 cms. long, 34 cms. high and 2.3 cms. thick, is more complicated. A seven-branched candlestick without base is closely flanked by two gables or pediments, each supported by two columns, and provided with a semi-circular aperture. Above the candlestick is a semi-circular arch supported by a pair of columns. The panel or tympanum of this arch again is ornamented with two small columns. Flanking the architectural ensemble are two representations of large birds. The shallow circular recesses in each of the three niches, as well as those that form the eyes of the birds, once contained pieces of glass.

The third relief (fig. 3), which is fragmentary, 20 cms. high, 2 cms. thick, includes portions of a seven-branched candlestick and of a niche with one column, two small columns marking a window and one bird in the upper field. Below these columns and above the candlestick is a shallow circular recess which by analogy with the other reliefs we may assume to have once been fitted with glass. Owing to the striking similarity of many details we may assume that but for the birds this relief looked almost exactly like fig. 2.

All three reliefs are made of very soft white limestone. The first two have small holes (fig. 1 above the niche in the gable, fig. 2 behind the leg of each bird), as though intended to be suspended as wall-ornaments.

How are these plaques to be interpreted? The seven-branched candlestick, one of the few Palestinian symbols which belong to one community alone, proves the Jewish origin. This in itself would hardly be sufficient proof that the stone-carver meant to represent the wall of a synagogue, but the composition of the three reliefs, particularly of the two

complete specimens, the prominence given to the candlesticks as well as the niches in the upper floor, show that we are confronted here with religious monumental buildings, in this case with the walls of a synagogue. Thus we shall interpret the first relief as the façade of a synagogue approximately of the type of the one in Capernaum, as reconstructed by Kohl and Watzinger.¹ In view of this close resemblance one inevitably looks for differences. These are to be found in the two candlesticks of the first relief, presumably placed there to dispel any possible doubt, even in the mind of the most casual observer, regarding the character of the building. The second relief cannot well be anything else than the main inner wall of the synagogue. The double shrine of the Law each flanked by a pair of columns and crowned by a shell is also familiar to us from Capernaum²; nor need we look far for parallels for the niche high up in the wall.³ Thora-shrines with gabled roofs and shells⁴ have frequently been found, or assumed on the strength of the fragments found.⁵

The most difficult to explain are the birds. Once the opposition to eagles as symbols of Roman power had been overcome, birds were certainly met with in various synagogues of the Roman period in Palestine,⁶ as in Capernaum, al-Jish, ad-Dikke, Umm al-Qanāṭir, although never of such relatively huge shape. Small birds repeatedly figure as acroteria on thora-shrines.⁷ The nearest design is that on a gilt glass⁸ where the thora-shrine is flanked by two birds closely resembling those on the

¹ Kohl and Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*, 1916, pl. V, but compare also with the façade of the south wing of the Church of St. Simeon Stylites at Qal'at Sim'an, Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, fig. 101.

² Kohl and Watzinger, *l.c.*, p. 37.

³ We are dealing in detail with this problem in our forthcoming report on the excavations of the synagogue of Eshtemoa, meanwhile cf. our 'The Jewish Buildings of Nawe' (in *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, 1936), p. 7f.

⁴ Ben-Zevie, 'Discoveries at Pekiin' (in *Quarterly Statements*, 1930), p. 213 f., pl. II, 2; Sukenik, 'Designs of the Torah-Shrine in ancient Synagogues in Palestine' (in *Quarterly Statements*, 1931), p. 22 ff; id. *Beth Alpha*, pl. VIII.

⁵ Kohl and Watzinger, *l.c.*

⁶ Kohl and Watzinger, *l.c.*, p. 195 ff.

⁷ Sukenik, *Beth Alpha*, pl. VIII, fig. 35.

⁸ *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. II, p. 107 (after Garrucci) and often elsewhere.



FIG. 1



FIG. 3

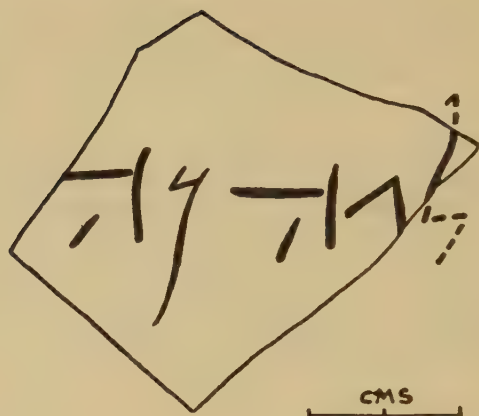


FIG. 2

second relief. One is tempted to explain these birds as cherubim, the representation of which in their original form—probably in the shape of gryphons—was forbidden¹ by Jewish law.

Representations of the Temple, of synagogues and of the Ark of the Law are common enough on mementoes of many kinds and do not require any special explanation as such. The novum of our reliefs lies in the fact that—to judge by the holes—they must have been kept fixed to a wall and so are *mutatis mutandis* in a way the prototype of the so-called “mizrah-pictures,” to be found on the eastern wall of orthodox Jewish houses, indicating the direction of the prayer.

¹ *Mekhila Yethro*, ed. Horowitz, 241, l.20. We have to thank Prof. J. N. Epstein of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for having called our attention to this passage.



A FURTHER NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED POTSHERD

By E. L. SUKENIK

(HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM)

PROFESSOR STAPLE'S objections to my reading of the Samaritan sherd—published in the QUARTERLY STATEMENT, 1936, pp. 34ff.—are based on two grounds :

- (a) the purpose of writing the Divine Name on a pot, and, what is more, in its full form, and
- (b) a tracing of the inscription which he prepared from the plate accompanying my article, showed him a group of letters other than those proposed by me.

Let us deal, first, with his epigraphic objections : I had the advantage over Mr. Staples in that I had before me the sherd itself from which the accompanying tracing was prepared ; and I would ask scholars desirous of making other observations on this sherd, to use the accompanying tracing as the basis of their study.

A cursory glance at the tracing is enough to show that the reading לצדני is out of the question. There is no triangle whatsoever above the horizontal stroke of the third letter. Nor does the final vertical stroke of the last letter cut the angle formed by the vertical and horizontal lines of the ה . This form of the ה —of which we have, here, two instances—is quite common in Aramaic script. There is, therefore, no

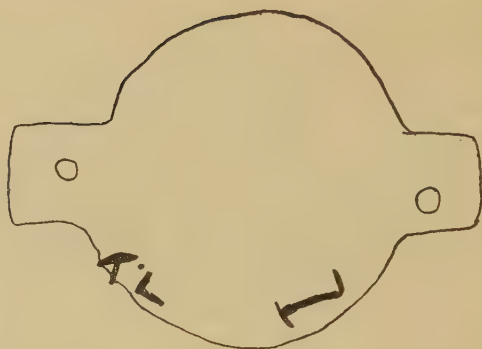
doubt at all about the reading of these two letters. The first letter is read as ל by Mr. Staples, too. Admitting that the ך is longer than usual, I proposed the only reasonable reading of this group of letters : namely, ליהודא.

With regard to Mr. Staple's other objections, I have to point out that the form יי does not occur at this period. The substitution of השם for the Divine Name is used in Talmudical literature, but there is no indication of its having been in use at an earlier period. Even in the Talmudic period, the objection was, probably, mainly to the utterance rather than the writing of the Divine Name. Relating to the Temple, we have an explicit statement in the Mishnah, *Soṭa VII*, 6 :

בכהבו במקדש אומר אה תשם ובמדינה בנינוי

(" In the Temple they pronounced the name as it was written, but in the provinces by a substituted word."—Danby.)

If my reading is correct, then the contents of the vessel in question appertained, in some form or other, to the Temple ritual. A similar designation was found on vessels of earlier periods, in Megiddo and in Samaria—(see my above-mentioned article)—and if Mr. Staples accepts the reading in the other instances, I fail to understand his objections, on these grounds in this case.



AN ARCHAIC INSCRIPTION FROM LACHISH

BY THEODOR H. GASTER

AMONG the objects discovered in 1936 by the Wellcome Expedition at Tell Duweir (Lachish) was a censer-cover on the reverse of which were three characters, written around the rim. It was at once seen that these characters belonged to the same archaic alphabet as appears on the now celebrated Ewer, as well as on the Bowl discovered in 1935. The interpretation of them has, however, so far remained an enigma. I venture now to propose an explanation which I feel confident will meet with the approval of palæographers.

Reading from right to left, the characters may be identified as Z GW. The *zayin* is that which appears on the 'Ain Shems Ostrakon, Obverse II, 1. It is also akin to the usual "Sinaitic" and "Phœnician" forms. The *gimel* is of the common "Sinaitic" type. The *waw* accords with early "Phœnician" types. Moreover, if the dot which precedes it is really the vestige of a top stroke, it will be identical with one of the characters on the Ewer, rightly read as *waw* by Burrows.

The large gap between the first and second letters of the inscription show that the legend consists of two words. The first is, therefore, contained in the monoliteral Z, and hence this must be the usual Semitic word for "this is" (Hebrew *zeh*, &c.), similarly spelt in the oldest documents. The second word—GW—will then equate with Hebrew גַּר "back," i.e., underside (*cf.* Isaiah, 38, 17; 50, 6; 51, 23; Proverbs, 10, 13; 19, 29; 26, 3).

The inscription will accordingly mean : " This is the back, i.e., underside."

The purpose of the legend is clear enough. Its aim was to prevent the cover's being placed on the censer upside-down, thus charring the design which embellishes its top side. Moreover, it was itself written on the extreme edge to prevent its being smoked out. In a word, the inscription is the equivalent of a chalk mark which might be made in similar circumstances to-day to denote " this side up." The very fact that the legend is written in so odd a place shows that it is neither formal nor ceremonial in character.

It remains only to add that the letters might be read *downwards*, as often in the " Sinaitic " inscriptions.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

On the Track of the Exodus. By Lieut.-Colonel C. C. ROBERTSON, D.S.O., with a Foreword by the Rev. E. H. THOROLD, C.B., C.B.E., M.A., D.D., Chaplain-General to the Forces. Gale and Polden, Ltd., 1936, pp. xvi, 107. 7s. 6d. net.

COLONEL ROBERTSON accepts Professor Peet's description of the route of the Exodus as a "happy playing-field for the amateur" and throws himself with refreshing zest into the game which has now become so popular. There are, as we know, two ways of playing it. On the one hand you may concentrate upon the "miraculous" phenomena and frame your theory of the route upon your explanation of the Red Sea catastrophe, the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, &c. This was the method adopted by Major Jarvis in his delightful book *Yesterday and To-day in Sinai*, and by the present reviewer in *The Call of Israel*. Or, on the other hand, you may reject the inverted commas around "miraculous" and map out your line of march unhampered by considerations of strictly scientific probability. This is the method adopted by Colonel Robertson. His theory may be stated briefly as follows. The Exodus took place at the end of the Hyksos domination: in fact the disaster which befell the Pharaoh and his army precipitated the defeat of these foreigners by the native Egyptians. Moses, the adopted son of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh and wife of Prince Mered of Judah (I Chron. iv, 18), was the great commander that he is pictured by Josephus and held at this time a position of almost sovereign power in Egypt. He was thus able to organize the departure (not flight) of Israel with all the resources, including sea-transport, which their position in the land of Goshen afforded. His line of march followed the western shore of the Gulf of Suez to Arsinoe (Migdol), opposite Tor in the Sinai Peninsula. Here his

flotilla of ships was waiting to transport the people (numbering three millions) to the further shore, but the miraculous drying of the sea (partly by the east wind, partly by evaporation, but in any case by the direct action of the Supreme Being) allowed them to cross the gulf on foot. Thence, while the flocks and herds were convoyed across the peninsula to the head of the Gulf of Akabah, the main body was transported in relays by sea to the same rendezvous, the whole nation reassembling at Mount Sinai-Horeb which lay just south of Mount Seir in the land of Midian. The succeeding events of the forty years are summarized in a concluding chapter.

It will be evident from this brief sketch that the author's conclusions will not in the main be endorsed by modern scholars who realize that the problem is infinitely more complex than it may seem to the amateur. Nevertheless, we may be grateful to Colonel Robertson for insisting that Midian not the Sinai Peninsula was the "immediate objective" of Moses, and more particularly that the grandeur of the Mount of God was due not to its loftiness but to the phenomena which attended the Theophany. "The idea of Moses with the seventy elders of Israel scaling this great height [the traditional 7,450 feet] is not a reasonable proposition. It is accessible to ibex and the wild goat, but ceremonial dignity is not associated with violent exertion. The need for fencing off a mountain would not arise." That is well said, and it is pleasant also to read the rabbinical comment which the author quotes on this question: "Tabor and Carmel came from the end of the world, priding themselves on their height and saying, 'We are high, and the Holy One, Blessed be He, will give us His Torah.' But Sinai humbly says, 'I am low,' and therefore God put His glory upon it." For the rest, while we cannot agree with the Chaplain-General, who says in his Foreword that this is the best book on the subject which he has ever read, we can recommend it as a stimulating exercise of the imagination undertaken by a man who is obviously enthralled by the magic of the Bible story. Uncritical readers will probably find it fascinating, while even those who know the pitfalls of this road will enjoy the company of so cheerful a fellow-traveller.

W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS.

Hebrew Origins. By T. J. MEEK, Professor of Oriental Languages, Toronto University. Harper, 1936. \$2.

THIS is an interesting and provocative book. It is not long (203 pp.), and is easy to read, but it is rather strong meat for the non-specialist reader. "All of biblical tradition cannot be accepted as facts, but facts do lie behind and within the historical records, and it is the task of the historian to discover these facts, and give them their true setting." This is what Professor Meek sets out to do, in his discussion of Hebrew origins—the origin of the Hebrew people, of Hebrew law, of the Hebrew God, of the Hebrew priesthood, of Hebrew prophecy, and of Hebrew monotheism.

He reconstructs the history somewhat as follows: The Habiru of cuneiform inscriptions and the 'Apiru of Egyptian inscriptions are equated with the Hebrews. These people invaded Canaan in successive waves, one a part of the Hurrian Migration to the West (c. 1800 B.C.), with which Abraham is connected; the second, an infiltration of allied tribes from the North (c. 1400 B.C.), with which the invasion under Joshua is identified—a northern confederacy being formed, and a simple Code of Laws accepted at Shechem; the third, the immigration of a small number of Hebrews, led by Moses from Egypt (c. 1200 B.C.). The latter were chiefly Levites, who amalgamated with the Judahites, already settled in the Negeb, and with the Simeonites, Kenites and Calebites to form a Southern Confederacy, with its own Code of Laws, accepted at Kadesh. This confederacy later pushed northward from the Negeb into South Canaan.

This theory of Professor Meek's, by which he transposes Moses and Joshua, is, as he notes, not accepted by "the English School." His argument appears to be somewhat inconsistent, as, although he places no reliance on Biblical order or chronology, he yet invokes it in aid of his theory: e.g., 1400 B.C. for the second invasion agrees with the Biblical date of 480 years before Solomon's reign (960 B.C.); 1175 B.C. for the third invasion agrees with the duration of the rule of the eight Edomite kings before Saul (1020 B.C.), and so on.

According to his theory, Israel and Judah were two separate nations, as separate as the Babylonians and the Assyrians. And these peoples had separate religions. After referring to the

“ naturism ” (animatism) of the very early Hebrews, of which traces clearly survive in the Old Testament, the writer asserts that the people later practised ancestor-worship, quoting Dr. Oesterley in support of his view. But Dr. Oesterley himself draws a distinction between ancestor-worship and the cult of the dead, the latter of which he finds among the Hebrews. Professor Meek rejects the idea that Moses originally learnt about Yahweh from the Kenites, and believes that Yahweh, a god of S. Arabian origin, having been accepted as the God of Judah, became after the formation of the Southern Confederacy the god of the united tribes. Later, when David ruled over the Northern Confederacy as well as over the Southern, Yahweh became the god of the whole people. Meanwhile, the Northern Confederacy had received from Aaron, an *Ephraimite*, the cult of the bull, not regarding the bull as a symbol of Yahweh, of whom they knew nothing, but as a symbol of Adad, the fertility god, often known as Ba'al. The worship of Yahweh in the north was introduced by the Levites, who were, in the author's opinion, in origin a tribe, and not a priestly caste. Their original god was a serpent deity, *Nahash*—*cf.* Moses' rod, the image of the serpent in the wilderness, the connexion of the name Levi with Leviathan, and the serpent-names in the family of Moses. The association of the Levites with Yahweh-worship is explained thus: the Levites were at first a secular tribe, whose frustrated bid for political power led to their transformation into a professional priesthood—they “ made up in religious prestige what they failed to obtain politically.” Then, having become the priestly order of Judah, they became priests of Yahweh, grafting some of their former serpent-religion on to the Yahweh-cult. The bull worship, supplanted in the north by Yahweh-worship about the time of David, was at the Disruption reinstated by Jeroboam, until Elijah's protest led to the re-establishment of Yahwism.

Professor Meek's reconstruction of the development of law and of prophecy follows more familiar lines. With the “ thorough-going ” monotheism of the great prophets, and its culmination in universalism, “ origins ceased.”

Although, perhaps, the “ English School ” will, even now, not be prepared to accept the whole of Professor Meek's reconstruction of Hebrew history and religion, those who

read the book will find it interesting as well as provocative.

There are a few misprints : on page 8, note 14, " Babylonishe " for " Babylonische "; on page 161, " Shemiah " for " Shemaiah "; E. B. Tylor, the author of *Primitive Culture*, twice appears as " Taylor " on page 127, note, and in the Index ; " E. L. Curtis " in Index should be S. L. Curtiss ; " J. C. Gadd " should be C. J. Gadd, and " W. von Sodon " should read " von Soden." The point indicating " Cheth " is absent from pages 15 to 75, and in the Index.

E. W. HIPPISELY.

Clara Rhodos Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi. Vol.VIII, 1936.

THE island of Rhodes has been more or less intimately connected with Palestine at various times. Rhodian exports have been found on Palestinian sites of the Middle Iron period and in the Hellenistic age there was a lively trade in Rhodian wine vessels. Later still it was to Rhodes that the Knights of St. John fled after the fall of Acre. There is, however, nothing in this volume which bears very directly on the subjects with which our readers are chiefly interested, though two long articles are devoted to the medieval buildings of the Knights : they are both written by the architect, P. Lojacono, fully documented and profusely illustrated with recent plans and with illustrations taken from the older travellers. Other articles are devoted to the cemeteries of Ialysos excavated in 1934 (the finds in these date from the Geometrical and Oriental periods downwards and they are published on the same lavish scale as the buildings) : a red-figured *pelike* found on the island of Cos, and an inscription found in the Palace of the Grand Master which throws light on the personnel of a Rhodian warship in the first century.

The volume is an illustration of the interest which the Italian Government is taking in the archæology of the islands.

J. W. C.

Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System. By G. R. DRIVER, M.A.
Old Testament Studies, No. 2. T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d.
165 pp.

IT is now forty-five years since the appearance of the book which has been a familiar friend to several generations of

Hebrew students under its abbreviated name of *Hebrew Tenses*. In it the late Professor S. R. Driver embodied in compact form the fruits of many years of profound and penetrating study of the Semitic family of languages, in which branch of studies the book was a notable landmark.

To one who was privileged to be a pupil and a friend of the great scholar who served his generation so faithfully in the field of Old Testament studies, it is a peculiar pleasure to record the appearance of a book by his son, G. R. Driver, which is, by reason of its originality and sound scholarship, an even more notable landmark in the same field of studies.

The late Dr. Driver was a formidable opponent. No vulnerable point in an adversary's position escaped his eagle eye, but in controversy he was always impersonal, impartial, and resolute in the pursuit of the truth. These qualities mark the work of his son.

The book is of first-rate importance, and marks a new departure in the application of the comparative method to Semitic linguistic studies. Perhaps for the first time full use has been made of the immense advance of recent years in the knowledge of the Mesopotamian languages and literature. The book also shows how greatly linguistic studies have benefited by an alliance with the kindred disciplines of archæology and history.

The *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System* are obviously not to be approached save with due seriousness, but the present reviewer must confess to having found the opening sections of Mr. Driver's book as entertaining as a mystery story. The successive claimants to the honour of primogeniture, so to speak, that is, of representing the simplest form of the verb from which all other forms have been developed, are subjected to a searching cross-examination which reminds one of the methods of a famous counsel in the Tichborne case. Mr. Driver's criticism of the theories of Bauer and Bergsträsser is most acute and illuminating, and he succeeds in making a dry and technical subject extremely interesting.

While, of necessity, much of the detailed philological discussion in the book will be of primary interest only to Semitic

scholars, there is a great deal which vitally concerns students in the fields of semantics, comparative philology and archæology. It is particularly interesting to note the way in which the conclusions at which Mr. Driver arrives tally with the results of recent studies in the early civilization and religion of the ancient Near East. These conclusions are so admirably expressed in the opening paragraph of the last chapter of the book, that we cannot do better than quote it *in extenso*: "Hebrew tradition in the account of Abraham's coming from the Babylonian city of Ur through Haran into Palestine preserves the recollection, however dim and distant, of a Babylonian element, the Deuteronomist makes definite mention of an Aramæan, and Ezekiel speaks equally definitely of an Amorite as well as a Hittite, i.e., a non-Semitic, strain in the Hebrew people; in other words, according to their own traditions the Hebrews must have been a mixed nation, drawn principally from the neighbouring Semitic races but containing also a certain amount of foreign blood. Moreover the *Habiru*, who may be held, even if not to be the Biblical Hebrews, at any rate to have contributed an element to the Hebrew stock, must have been a mixed horde of robbers composed of refugees and outlaws from the surrounding nations, largely Semites, lying between the Elamite mountains and the Mediterranean Sea. It will then be natural to find something of this heterogeneous origin reflected in the Hebrew language; for the speech of a people normally reflects its origin."

These conclusions should provide a necessary corrective to the tendency, still strong in this country, to depend too exclusively upon the theory of the Bedouin origin of the Hebrews, upon Arabic as the main criterion in Hebrew philology, and upon the obscure remains of pre-Islamic Arab religion as the principal source of what is characteristic in early Hebrew religion and custom.

Of prime importance for the teaching of Hebrew is Mr. Driver's criticism of the orthodox theory of *waw* consecutive, and of the so-called "prophetic perfect." Here he does not hesitate to lay hands on his father Parmenides, and shows clearly the defects of the theory of these forms as presented in *Hebrew Tenses*. Here, too, in particular does the value of the increased modern knowledge of Accadian appear, whereby for

the first time a convincing explanation of these puzzling peculiarities of Hebrew syntax is arrived at.

Incidentally, this book will provide for a long time to come an indispensable guide to the fundamental principles of comparative Semitic grammar. The Old Testament Society is to be congratulated on its association with this notable piece of English scholarship.

S. H. H.

The committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

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